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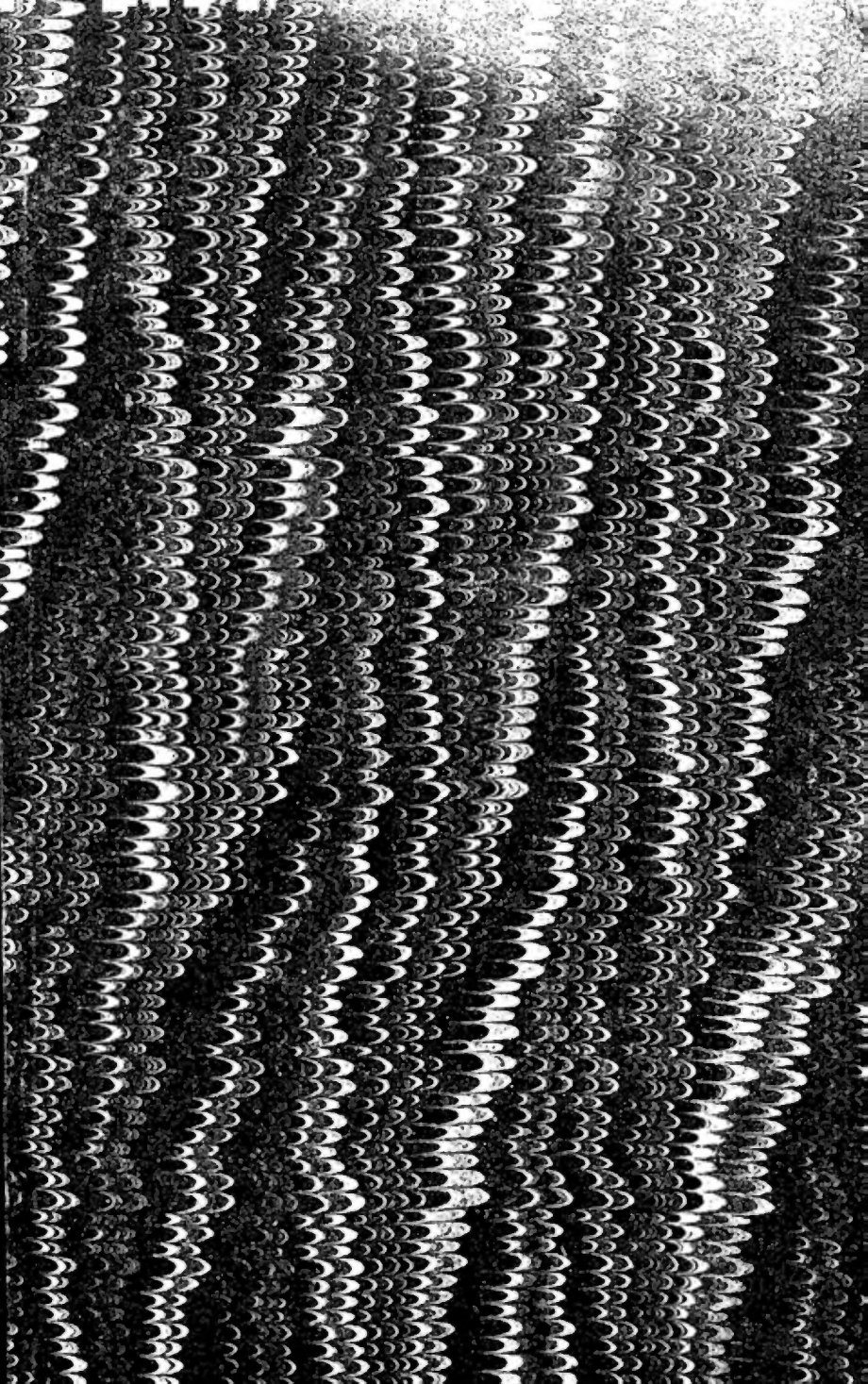
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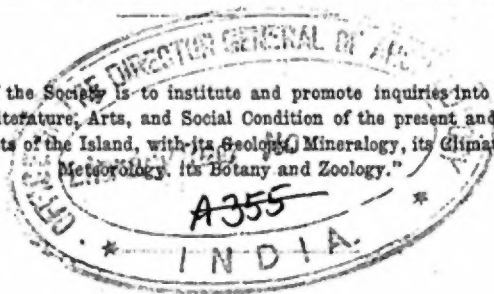
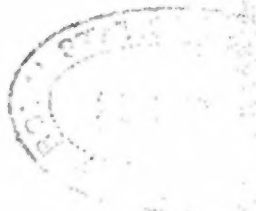
"The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religion, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology, Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology."

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Jottings from a Jungle Diary.—By S. M. BURROWS, ESQ., C.C.S. 	1
The Pearl Fisheries of Ceylon.—By G. VANE, ESQ., C.M.G., late C.C.S. 	14
An Account of the Weheragoḍa Dévalé.—By ARTHUR JAYAWARDHANA, ESQ., MUDALIYAR ...	41
A Year's Work at Polonnaruwa.—By S. M. BURROWS, ESQ., C.C.S. 	46
Three Singhalese Inscriptions: text, transliteration, translation, and notes.—By MUDALIYAR B. GUÑASÉKARA. 	83



JOURNAL
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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
CEYLON BRANCH.

JOTTINGS FROM A JUNGLE DIARY.

BY S. M. BURROWS, ESQ., C.C.S.

TO begin a Paper with an apology is neither novel nor admirable, yet I feel that some apology is due for laying before a Literary and Scientific Society a Paper with so frivolous a title and such ill-assorted contents. The only possible excuse is, that to the intellectual as to the physical palate a change of diet may sometimes be acceptable, even though the change be from *caviar* to cabbage.

The scheme of this Paper is simple almost to crudeness. It is to give some account of the more recent archaeological discoveries at Anurádhapura, and to describe one or two places and incidents which I have come across on circuit in the less beaten tracks of the North-Central Province.

ANURÁDHAPURA.

It may be doubted whether there is anything much more exciting than the finding of a really fine archaeological treasure which has lain hid for many centuries. Mr. Wallace, in his "Malay Archipelago," has described the hysterical

state, almost ending in a fainting fit, into which he was thrown by the discovery of a really new butterfly; and though perhaps "stone-hunting" may petrify the heart against such emotional expression, yet the sensation is somewhat akin.

While carrying out some excavations on the Outer Circular road near the "Stone Canoe" in November last, we had the good fortune to dig up a magnificent stone, nearly square, and weighing some four or five tons, with sunk panelled mouldings to a depth of one and a quarter foot. As the stone had fallen on its face, the delicate lines of moulding proved to be almost as perfect as on the day they were carved. A little further search was rewarded by the discovery of two smaller stones of similar design, which exactly fitted on to either side of the centre piece; and it was then evident that the trio had formed an oblong canopy over some statue, or perhaps over a throne. When the centre piece was first discovered, the square impress of each of the pillars that supported it was plainly visible, as were the notches by which the masons had determined the square where each pillar was to rest. In the centre of one of the longer sides we found what I believe is called by masons "the primary mark," from which all the other measurements are taken. In this case it bore a very fair resemblance to the familiar "broad arrow." The pillars were discovered at some little distance from the canopy, at a depth of about four feet below the surface, and by degrees a series of oblong slabs were turned up, each bearing a bold fresco of peculiar design, which ran along, and were keyed into, the upper rim of the canopy. Finally, the site of the building was found about two feet down. The subsidence of the ground had displaced some of its pavement stones, but the general shape and the measurements left no doubt of its identity.

Now came the task of restoring the canopy as nearly as possible to its former condition. The combined weight of the three roof-stones may be put at about fifteen tons; the pillars were ten feet high. We had no appliances whatsoever but an

old bit of chain, and our only "skilled labour" consisted of a convict who was said to have been a mason before he took to the more profitable pursuits of a burglar. So we had to set to work in truly native fashion. Fixing the eight pillars in three feet of concrete and cement, we filled up the space between them with earth, just leaving the tops of the pillars visible. A sloping platform of earth, from the tops of the pillars to the ground level, was then made, and up this, with considerable difficulty, the heavy roof-stones were prized with wooden levers and rollers; and it was a gratifying moment when the last roller was knocked out, and the stones allowed to drop upon their allotted resting-places. The slabs of the frieze were then put in position, the earth cut away, and the restoration complete.

Further excavations revealed no less than three large stone *sannas*—one quite perfect, the other two more or less mutilated—and also a very perfect specimen of a *Yóga* stone with twenty-five squares. These stones, of which four specimens have been discovered, appear to have been always placed near some shrine of peculiar sanctity and importance. They were used by the *Yógis*, or Mystics, for purposes of abstract meditation, and the number of squares with which each stone was provided had a mystic signification: nine, for instance, representing the nine gates of the body. These squares were filled with certain prescribed ingredients, and the devotee whose contemplation of them was sufficiently abstracted and prolonged, was rewarded at last by discerning a faint flicker of the light in the centre square, which gradually expanded and increased until the whole of the heaven above and the earth beneath was revealed to him. But perhaps, after all, the most striking point elucidated by the operations at the stone canopy was the extraordinary depth to which it was necessary to go before reaching natural soil. Dig as deep as you might, there were still tiles, bricks, broken chatties, and stone fragments, bearing strange testimony to the vast size and dense population of the buried city.

A careful exploration of the jungles on the opposite side of the road to the stone canoe led to some very satisfactory "finds." Besides a multitude of stone pillars, stairways, and *pokunu*, too indefinite to describe, a very large sedent statue of Buddha was uncovered, in excellent preservation, with the exception of the forearms, which are missing. A smaller sedent limestone figure, seated at right angles to it, was also discovered, but terribly mutilated. The deeply worn hollows in the "kneeling-stone" at its base perhaps attest its sanctity and account for its mutilation. A little further on the extreme tip of a large *dvārapāla*, or "door-guardian stone," and a small square pillar, protruded above the surface.

Curiosity, excited by the size of the *dvārapāla*, prompted excavation, which resulted in the unearthing of a magnificent staircase, unrivalled in the ruins for completeness and size, leading to the platform of a large *Vihāra*, of which the outer boundary wall is almost perfect. One of the "door-guardian stones" had fallen headlong, and was buried seven feet or eight feet deep, but when it was at length raised into position it proved to be the most perfect specimen yet discovered. It measures 4 ft. 6 in. high by 2 ft. 3 in. wide inside the frame, the total length of the stone being 6 ft. The tip of the nose is broken, otherwise it is as perfect as on the day when it was carved. On either side of the landing-stone at the top of the stairs two oblong slabs are let in, which are carved exactly to represent the sides of a couch, and are hollowed to receive the back of a man in a sitting posture. Mr. Wrightson of the Public Works Department calculates that the landing-stone by itself weighs about sixteen tons. The whole of the staircase (which has also a fine "moonstone") is in solid granite, the outer sides terminating in bold ogee moulding. This moulding is continued in brickwork coated with chunam the whole way round the outer wall of the platform, which measures 85 ft. by 68 ft.; the brick moulding is based on a square stone pediment. Very little trace of the flooring of the platform is left, and most of the huge pillars have been

broken, but near the southern boundary, and exactly opposite to the great staircase, a *Yôga* stone with twenty-five squares has been uncovered, still in its original position, surrounded by a broad pavement of planed granite. Besides a considerable quantity of iron clamps and nails, pieces of mica and basketfuls of *dummala* (which I believe to be a species of sandarac, and which is still used here for sacrificial purposes), two copper nails and a few small pieces of copper were found here at a depth of three feet to five feet, but not in the least corroded—a fact I am unable to explain unless by the extreme purity of the copper. I also found two round pieces of the blue glass decorated with a spiral groove, and apparently fragments of a necklace, and also some very thin fragments of green glass, which seemed to be the remains of a small vase or box. The large *Vihâra* has four smaller annexes at its four corners, with stairways facing each other.

Still deeper in the junglo another large *Vihâra* was discovered. When the trees and underwood that entombed it wore at length cleared away, several pillars of great beauty were brought to light. They are monoliths, with highly decorated capitals, 10 ft. 6 in. in height, while the width of each side of the pillars is $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. Excavations are still going on here, as I have failed at present to discover the staircase which must have led to this beautiful shrine, owing to the vast accumulation of earth and tiles round it. In the centre of the building a “kneeling-stone”—a granite fald-stool—has been unearthed, one side being decorated with the familiar “dwarf-and-pillar” ornament.

About two hundred yards to the east of this shrine I discovered still another *Vihâra*, which differs in design from all those previously exposed to view. The platform is, as nearly as possible, 38 ft. square. Three rows of beautiful monolithic pillars, with delicately carved capitals, run from east to west along the two sides of the platform, leaving a blank space in the middle, and I have little doubt that they supported a pagoda, or dome-shaped roof, and represent the only instance

of this kind of roof at present discovered in Anurádhapura. The pillars are much longer and thinner in the shaft than those described last, standing, on an average, twelve feet out of the ground. The whole building is in the most picturesque state of ruin conceivable. The long graceful pillars slope in every direction; the moulded granite basement heaves and undulates as though from the shock of a great earthquake; the fine "moonstone," and every step of the decorated staircase, is cracked right in half; broken pillars, portions of the flooring, fragments of the frieze, lie about in wild confusion; while the deep russet of the felled jungle, and the brilliant background of dense foliage and fantastic creepers, lend colour to the scene, and complete a striking picture of gorgeous desolation. I have succeeded in unearthing some portions of a frieze which must have surmounted the moulding of the platform: lions and grotesque men in very high relief figure on it in alternate panels, and it bears a strong resemblance to the frieze that surrounds the *Wata Dágé* at Polonnaruwa, but I do not know whether the resemblance may be taken as a fair criterion of the date of this building.

I would further mention two other discoveries made still more recently. One is of a *Vihára* and *Dágaba* near the *Gal-gé* on the *Laṅkáráma* road. The *Vihára* is remarkable for its doorway, which is composed of two solid upright slabs of granite, standing about 5 ft. apart, each measuring about 8 ft. in height by 3 ft. 8 in. wide, and 5 in. thick. The platform and the mouldings on its outer wall are fairly perfect, and it has four annexes at its four corners, the *dvárapála*, "moonstone," and steps of each annexe being elaborately carved. The *Dágaba* is at present a grass-covered mound, but I hope to cut a trench through the *débris* that covers it, and see what time and Tamils have left of the original structure.

To the north-west of the *Kuttam Pokuṇa* a square *Pokuṇa* of similarly elaborate workmanship has been found. The sides are lined with long smooth slabs of granite,

arranged in tiers, and a long stone water-pipe projects into it, supported on a very grotesque and obese figure. Near it a very curious inscription was found, in a character unknown to me. A careful copy has been taken of it, and forwarded to the Colonial Secretary. Two other excavations are also being carried on. Out of the five so-called "Pavilions" on the Outer Circular road, two are being carefully cleared. It is hoped that when all the scattered stones are fairly exposed to view, a good many of the staircases, doorways, bathing-chambers, &c., may be replaced and revealed, and a better idea be gained of the details of these ancient palaces; but of course no restoration will be undertaken which is in any way doubtful or "original." Also the *débris* which entirely covers the eastern chapel of the *Abhayagiri Dágaba* is being removed, and a trench is being cut inwards towards the bell of the *Dágaba*. No doubt the chapel will prove to be in ruins, but the prospect of recovering some remnants similar to the magnificent fragments that mark the sites of the other three chapels makes it well worth while to prosecute the search.

At the risk of being wearisome, I must briefly describe two other "finds" of some interest. In the jungle not far from the *Thúpárama*, I came across a curious stone, which has been identified as a *pañḍu-oruwa*, or dyeing vessel. It is an oblong stone, about 5 ft. in length and 1½ ft. thick. At one end there is a deep circular hollow, narrowing towards the bottom; the outer rim of the upper lip being decorated with the lotus-leaf pattern. At the opposite end of the stone an oblong raised platform is cut, and its edges moulded. The stone was apparently used exclusively for the dyeing of priests' robes. The *pañḍu*, or "dye," was poured into the hollow, and the robes, after being thoroughly soaked in it, were laid out upon the little platform, and the dye worked into them with wooden pounders and rollers. The *pañḍu* appears to have been made by boiling the following ingredients:—either (i.), the heart of the *kos-gaha* (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) with the

leaves of the *kora-kaha* (*Memecylon umbellatum*) and of the *bómbu* (*Symplocos spicata*), and the heart of the *ahu* tree (*Morinda citrifolia*); or (ii.), the flowers of the *sépáliká* tree (*Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*)—this is supposed to make the choicest *paṇḍu*; or (iii.), the wood of the *timbol*, a large thorny creeper; or (iv.), the heart of the *milla* (*Vitex altissima*), with ashes made by burning the wood of the *kēbella* tree (*Aporosa Lindleyana*).

In the banks of a channel recently cut I have found a large collection of ancient roof-tiles, thickly coated with blue enamel or glaze. None are absolutely perfect, though many are very nearly so. One fragment is coated with white enamel, the only specimen I have seen of this colour, while another has evidently been thickly gilded, and still bears very perceptible traces of its gold coating. All the blue tiles were found in one spot, about seven feet deep, and even the offer of a reward has failed to elicit any more specimens.

From such authorities as I have been able to consult on the subject of enamelled or glazed tiles, I gather that glazes having the composition of good enamels were manufactured at a very early date. Excellent glazes are still preserved on some of the bricks which have been referred to the eighth or seventh centuries B.C. Nor should we forget the glazed slipper-shaped coffins which occur in great numbers at Warka,—probably the ancient Ur of the Chaldees,—and are referred to the Sassanian period. The glazes on the Babylonian bricks were examined by Dr. Percy, who found that the base was a soda glass or silicate of sodium, rendered opaque in some specimens by the presence of stannic oxide, or coloured blue in others by means of silicate of copper associated with the sodic silicate. Glazes of a similar character were also manufactured by the Egyptians as early as the sixth dynasty. Separate figures, &c., were produced in a substance which has been miscalled porcelain, and which is in fact a frit coated with various coloured glazes, of which the most common is a fine celestial blue colour. This colour is due to the presence of a double silicate of copper and sodium.

Now I cannot help thinking that some interesting links with other civilisations might be discovered by a careful analysis of the glaze on these Anurádhapura tiles. I would call attention to the fact that the prevailing colour in these, as in the Egyptian tiles, is blue; and perhaps the various pieces of pure copper which we have found in the course of our excavations may have a close connection with that colour. But I must leave such a subject in the hands of more scientific investigators than myself.

One or two minor details remain to be mentioned. A great deal of old iron has been found,—mostly in the form of nails, clamps, and bolts,—proving, I think clearly, that most of these stone pillars bore superstructures, and that the superstructures were of timber. The only articles of domestic use I have found are two old *kēti*, a pair of long iron scissors of a peculiar design, and one leg of an iron arecanut-cutter, ornamented with the head of a mythical beast.

There is an old Italian saying, that the safest time to turn heretic is when the Pope is dying. Perhaps it may appear to be somewhat on the same principle that, in connection with the carvings and buildings we have been discussing this evening, I venture to suggest a theory to which I know that our President, of whom we are to take regretful leave to-night, will not agree. But I cannot help thinking that it is just possible that the Tamil invader, who is generally looked upon as a mere iconoclast, was both the artist who designed and the workman who carried out the patterns and mouldings of the Great City. Of course one would like to believe that these delicate and chaste designs were the spontaneous outcome of the artistic Aryan mind, and spread from the cities of the Aryan invaders in Ceylon to the dark Dravidian continent, its neighbour on the north. Mr. Phœbus, the prophet of Aryan principles in Disraeli's "Lothair," "did not care for the political or commercial consequences of the Suez Canal, but was glad that a natural division should be established between the greater races and the Ethiopian. It might not lead to any considerable result, but it asserted a

principle. He looked upon that trench as a protest." In the same way, there are many followers of Mr. Phœbus who looked upon the Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannár as a protest, a watery intervention between the Tamil iconoclast and the Aryan artist. I confess that my own view of the matter is different, though an Aryan fellow-feeling makes me hope that the arguments which weigh with me will be successfully demolished. They are these :—

1. Failing evidence to the contrary (and I submit that there is none trustworthy), the natural hypothesis to form concerning the architectural and artistic ideas which are realised in stone at Anurádhapura is that they gradually travelled down from north to south, and so were imported into the Island from the extremity of the continent, and not *vice versa*.

2. Unless we are to believe in the mystical flight through the air of the great missionary Mahindo, the assumption is that he travelled through the south of India to Ceylon, carrying with him reminiscences of the sacred edifices he had seen in his native land and on his journey, which he persuaded his insular converts to imitate, and perhaps surpass, for the honour and glory of Buddha.

3. If we may trust the "Maháwaṃso," we know as a fact that the early Rájás all sought their wives from Southern India, that the Tamil Elálá reigned peaceably for 44 years, that the great Polonnaruwa monarch, Parákrama Báhu, imported Tamil artificers to carve his temples, and, as a pretty certain inference, that the early religion of the Island was Hindúism.

4. Nearly all the religious emblems are plainly imported, and not originally representations of local animals and ideas. The conventional rendering of the horse, the lion, the bull, and probably of the goose, must have travelled southward from the continent; while the *dvárapála* or door-guardians, the *makara toraṇ* and the frescoes at the *Isurumuniya* Temple are obviously of Hindúistic origin.

5. The interesting ruins thirty-five miles south of Madras,

known as "the Seven Pagodas" (so called on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, because they are nine in number), which are of unknown antiquity, present so many strong points of resemblance to the sculptures of Anurádhapura that I am surprised they have not been more dwelt upon. There are to be seen the same stairways, with highly mythical animals forming the balustrades; the same "door-guardians," in the same saltatory attitude; there is the familiar flute-player of *Isurumuniya* (an incarnation of the Hindú Mercury), and the squat, obese figures with a half-fractionious expression, looking like Falstaff after he had swallowed his halfpenny worth of bread. There is a roof precisely the same as that of the newly-discovered stone canopy; a stone bull, which is own brother to the Anurádhapura bull with the prolific reputation; a wall with a bold frieze of elephants and lions, closely resembling the elephant wall that surrounds the *Ruwanwelisíya*; and many other minor likenesses too numerous to detail. If my previous arguments are of any value, they go to prove that Anurádhapura and Polonnaruwa are more or less replicas of "the Seven Pagodas" and similar Indian shrines.

My Paper has already run to such a length that I must reserve for a future occasion several subjects that I meant to touch upon. But I should like to add a word of admiration for the monolithic statue of Buddha at Sasseruwa, which I visited on my last circuit. It is a thousand pities that it is not in a more accessible situation, for it is difficult to conceive a more impressive image. Mr. Wrightson succeeded in measuring it, and found it to be of exactly the same height as the Aukana Buddha, viz., 39 ft. 6 in., but the rock from which it is carved is of far more imposing dimensions, and the position of the statue is much more cunningly chosen. There are some very curious artificial caves in its immediate vicinity, surmounted by inscriptions which I presume have been already deciphered, though I have failed to find any record of the fact.

Time will not permit me to dwell on the interesting folklore

that has collected around the Kaláwewa tank, and the tales its villagers tell of the terrible exactions of the "Aiyana Dewiyó."

But I may be allowed to add as a postscript two small but interesting discoveries made since this Paper was begun.

1. I have unearthed the stone "sill" of a doorway made for folding doors, near the Outer Circular road. Two shallow holes are cut in it to receive the door-pins, and in each hole there is a fragment of an *iron* door-pin firmly fixed in the stone. It has always been supposed hitherto that the ancient doors were made entirely of wood, revolving on wooden pins. This small discovery possibly proves that the ancients were much more addicted to the use of iron, and adept at working it, than we are generally inclined to admit. Perhaps the iron gate which secured the primeval citadel of *Vijitapura*, and the tall iron pillar which several people have seen in the Anurádhapura jungles, but can never find again, are not mere fables after all !

2. Very little has hitherto been known of the irrigation system of ancient Anurádhapura. Former and recent jungle clearings have laid bare a large number of long rows of stone blocks, which have been generally taken for boundaries or enclosures. This week we have, in the course of some excavations, come across a channel about two feet down, which runs up close to the side of the beautiful *pokuna* north of the Public Works Department yard. Here a stone water-pipe meets the channel, passes through the side of the *pokuna*, and projects into it. This channel exactly resembles in formation the long rows of granite blocks referred to above, and appears to prove two things: (1) that these *pokunu* were not dependent on the clouds for their supply of water, but were all carefully connected by elaborate irrigation works with the larger tanks (for the newly-found channel can be traced right up to Basawakkulam, a distance of three quarters of a mile); and (2) that the long lines of granite blocks are not merely enclosures, but were all connected channels, bringing water past the various religious

and secular buildings and into the several *pokuna*, and ultimately discharging themselves into the Hálpan-ela or Malwatte-oya.

In conclusion, I would venture respectfully to urge upon this Society the advisability of encouraging in every possible way excavations similar to those I have detailed in so disjointed a fashion this evening. I only speak from a year's experience, but I am quite sure that an immense quantity of interesting discoveries remain to be made by a careful and intelligent use of the mamotie and pickaxe, and I can conceive no better archæological investment than the gradual acquisition of details concerning the two magnificent cities which have been so long and shamefully neglected. The first great want is an accurate and complete survey of all that has been discovered up to date; and with that foundation to work upon, with a regular supply of convict labour under intelligent overseers, and an annual monetary grant, I feel confident that these ruins would rank among the most interesting and instructive to be found in the East.

THE PEARL FISHERIES OF CEYLON.*

BY G. VANE, ESQ., C.M.G., LATE C.C.S.

AT this great and wonderful Exhibition of the power, resources, and wealth of England's Colonial Empire, the Ceylon Court, so admirably arranged, fully exhibits her varied products, her beautiful pearls and gems, her works of art, past and present; and in many characteristics vies, I think, with her great neighbour, India.

These Conference Meetings having been instituted for the representation and discussion of special interests connected with each Colony, the Ceylon Commission consider the Pearl Fisheries an appropriate one, in the fact that Ceylon has, from the most ancient times, been famed for the beauty and value of her pearls; and therefore any information connected therewith would be interesting.

The Chairman, Sir James Longden, in introducing to your notice the subject for to-day's representation, has, in very kind and complimentary terms, told you that I would describe the manner in which the Ceylon Pearl Fishing was carried on, and that I was well able to do so from the knowledge I had gained in conducting these Fisheries during the years 1855-60.

Sir James has also observed that the Pearl Fishing of Ceylon was one of the most ancient—perhaps the most ancient—industry of the world; that it was carried on to-day as it had been for two thousand to three thousand years; and that it owed little or nothing to modern civilisation in the manner of getting from the depths of the sea that wonderful, beautiful product of Nature—the Pearl.

* Read at the Conference Meeting of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, October 6, 1886; Sir J. R. Longden, G.C.M.G., in the chair.

This is true, and bears on the manner in which I purpose treating the subject, in describing the manner in which the pearl oyster is fished from sea-depths of forty to fifty feet, the working and customs of the divers and boatmen, the washing and valuing of the lovely pearl, and generally of all relating to this most interesting and very productive, though precarious, source of Ceylon's revenue.

BEAUTY OF THE PEARL.

In my view the pearl is the most unique of jewels, requiring no setting of gold to enrich or ornament it, and truly meets the saying, that "beauty unadorned is adorned the most," for in its beautiful pure self it adorns the child, the bride, the matron, suiting alike the fair skins and complexions of the beauties of the West and their darker sisters of the East. That this is so you see in the three strings of valuable pearls, the property of Mr. C. H. De Soyza, a wealthy Siphalese gentleman who has done much to display the resources of his native country in the loan of very many valuable exhibits of the Ceylon Court.

FORMATION OF THE PEARL.

Differences of opinion exist as to the production and formation of the pearl.

One view is, that the pearl is formed by the oyster collecting, or taking in, some substance, and covering this with pearly matter; but as pearls are generally found in all pearl oysters, often in large numbers, and when cut or divided for setting their formation is shown to be uniform in layers of pearly substance only, the idea of needing a covering material is not, I think, supportable.

Another idea is, that these beautiful productions are the effect of disease, exciting secretion of pearly matter, and ultimately causing the death of the fish. Evidently the pearl oyster has the power of lining the internal surface of the shell with matter of the same nature and appearance as the pearl, and therefore, instead of being the result of disease,

why not be attributed to the distinctive character of the species and the inherent quality of the pearl oyster?

The pearl oyster is distinct from the common edible oyster. It somewhat resembles the latter in shape, but its valves are thinner, and it is provided with a byssus, commonly called cable, by which it holds on to rocks and other substances on the bottom. The meat is different to that of the common oyster, being much thicker, fatter, and slimy; and if they do live to the age when pearls are found therein, they are in beds of millions, thus showing, I think, that it is health and natural causes, and not disease or forced substance, that create pearls.

PEARL BANKS.

Pearl banks, or "*paars*" as they are called, are believed to extend all along the north-west coast of Ceylon, from Negombo to Mannár; and the charts and records give the names and positions of nineteen paars, but the larger portion of them have not yielded fisheries, either to the Dutch or English Governments, the Konḍachchi Paar having only been fished in 1801, the Chilaw Paar in 1803 and 1815, the Káraitivu Paar in 1832, and the Peri Karai Paar in 1833, 1835, and 1886; the Chevval and Módragam Paars having before, as now, been main sources, from whence the large, though precarious, pearl fisheries and revenues have been derived.

The more general productiveness of the Chevval and Módragam Paars is, I believe, attributable to their position affording a degree of protection from the influences of the weather and currents, to which causes are attributable the disappearance, before arriving at maturity, of many beds of young oysters. Fish, snakes, and chanks destroy an enormous number; currents carry them away into deep water, and drops of sand cover them.

SERIES OF FISHERIES.

Notwithstanding that long lapses have occurred between each series of fisheries, the Arippu Paars have yielded large

revenues to the Kandyan kings and the Dutch and the English Governments. There is no record that the Portuguese, during their occupancy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, fished the pearl banks, though the Dutch did so as far back as 1667, and with intervals up to 1768.

In 1796 a series of fisheries commenced under the English Government, continuing with intervals of one and two years to 1809 ; then 1814, 1816, 1820, 1828, 1833, 1835, and 1837 ; then, after a lapse of eighteen years, another series from 1855 to 1860, yielding in forty-four years over a million of revenue ; and fisheries have continued at intervals up to 1881, giving large revenues.

I refer myself to the series for 1855–1860, because I was connected therewith, and as Superintendent had to conduct them under difficulties connected with the determination of the Government not again to rent the right of fishing for a sum of money, or to allow the claim, as the renters had, of the Hindú temples of the Madras Presidency to fish on their own account.

The renting system and Temple claims had given much trouble at former fisheries so conducted, and led to abuses of the rights of the divers and boatmen (also, as believed, to the over-fishing of the banks), had interfered with a knowledge of the resources of each bank, and the real out-turn of each fishery, and had prevented the public at large from speculating, as well as the renting clique.

The decision of Government to fish the banks, and to sell the oysters daily by public auction, led in 1857 to strongly-formed combinations on the part of the Chetties, the former renting class, to prevent legitimate sales at public auction, and so to force on again the renting system.

To such an extent did they carry proceedings, that I had to assume the serious responsibility of closing the fishery ; but the issue of notices to this effect, and for vessels to remove the establishments, broke up the league, as the Chetties had no wish to lose the chance of making some money if they could not make all they desired.

I was thus relieved from a very grave responsibility, as the Government Proclamation had implied a fishery of fifteen days, and the divers, boatmen, traders, and speculators had attended in this belief.

INSPECTION OF THE PEARL BANKS.

The pearl banks are annually visited by the Inspector to see if oysters are forming, and when so, to note their progress. If the oysters remain intact to the age of three or four years, they generally afford a fishery.

The Inspector of the Pearl Banks proceeds at daylight, when the sea is calm, with boats in charge of coxswains, carrying each two divers, taking courses to the four points of the compass, diving in depths of eight to nine fathoms, and noticing results. If rock is found, one flag is hoisted on the masthead, as oysters are more generally found on rocky ground; if oysters, two flags, and a buoy is laid down; then the boats work their way to this point, noting the ground by flags, and placing buoys where oysters are found.

The limits,—north, south, east, and west,—age, condition, and supposed quantities being ascertained by the coxswains noting the number of oysters the diver brings up from each dive, a calculation is made of the probable number five divers constantly at work for six hours a day would obtain. The quantity of oysters is thus estimated, but this mere estimate is, of course, always below the actual outturn of a fishery.

The Inspector then notes on a chart the exact position of the bed by bearings of landmarks on the Arippu coast.

When it has been thus ascertained that oysters of from five to six years old are in sufficient quantities to be fished, a sample of from 10,000 to 20,000 oysters is taken to be washed, and the outturn of the pearls valued. If this justifies a fishery being declared, notice is given by publication in the *Government Gazette* and the newspapers of India and Ceylon, that a pearl fishery will take place at Arippu about March 1, from a bank named, estimated to

afford employment for fifty to one hundred boats for ten to fifteen days, and a statement is given of the outturn of the samples of oysters washed, giving description, weight, and value of each kind of pearls found in the given number of oysters. These particulars are given on the results of an inspection in October, and early in February following another sample of oysters is taken, washed, and valued, so that this outturn may be compared with that of the preceding October, and thus give the latest condition and prospects before fishing commences. It is by this sample (always very much superior in weight and quality of pearls) that the speculators are guided in bidding for the oysters, until they have washed and sampled their purchases.

SAMPLE PEARLS.

I will now describe the process of obtaining the sample pearls.

The sample oysters are carefully counted and packed in a *ballam*—a boat of particular construction. The inside is smooth, without beams, or lined, so that pearls may not be hidden and lost.

The *ballam* is covered with matting and sealed up by the Superintendent, the place of deposit being secured and guarded day and night for ten to twelve days, by which time the oyster flesh is a decomposed mass of putrid matter and shells. Washing commences by the *ballam* beng filled with sea water, and coolies, divested of all clothing that would allow of any concealment, are ranged on each side of the *ballam*, watched by the Superintendent, Inspector, and peons to see that they keep their hands under water when separating and washing the oyster shells, and do not take or conceal pearls they may feel or see.

They rub the shells well together under water, those shells having pearls adhering thereto being set apart for the pearls to be cut away, the other shells being placed alongside each cooly, and when all is done, counted to ensure the correctness of the quantity upon which the estimate of value is based.

All the shells being removed, the water is baled out through sieves and cloths to arrest any pearls so taken up, and then a mass of putrid flesh, matter, sand, and small shells remains. This being carefully cleaned by repeated washings, is laid on cloths in the sun, and when thoroughly dried the larger pearls are collected by hand and the smaller sifted for.

During this process every precaution is taken that no pearls are lost, every article used being washed through sieves of the smallest size.

The same process is carried out by the buyers of the pearl oysters, as opening before decomposition of the flesh could not be done with the many thousands bought by speculators, and, if so opened, would entail loss of pearls, especially of the small kind generally embedded in the flesh.

The washing of oysters for pearls is carried on by the buyers during the fishing, and the outturn influences their purchases.

The work and trials of a pearl collector are great, in the incessant supervision needed during washing, the anxieties and excitement as to results, and the intolerable stench proceeding from this heap of putrid oysters.

All this he has daily to bear for four or five weeks, or until he has secured the outturn of his speculation in pearl oysters.

Good, and often large, profits are made by speculators—a deserved recompense for all they undergo in this very trying method of money-making.

VALUING OF PEARLS.

Having described the process of washing and collecting pearls, I now briefly note the manner of sorting, sizing, classing, and valuing.

These operations are carried out by four pearl dealers, most of the Moorman class. Each of the four has his vocation: one sifts, another classes, the third weighs, and the fourth, as accountant, records results, all which occupy much time, need great judgment, and cause much discussion, owing to differences of opinion.

Sorting and sizing the pearls into ten different sizes, from the largest to the smallest, is done by passing them through ten brass sieves of 20, 30, 50, 80, 100, 200, 400, 600, 800, and 1,000 holes.

The sieves are from three to four inches broad and one deep, with holes in the lower part, and fit closely into each other. The pearls are first sifted through the upper sieve, or saucer, No. 1, of the 20-hole size (the largest holes); those retained therein as not passing through the holes are of the first size; those held by the 30-hole size, of the second size; and so on through the ten sieves or sizes. Those that pass through the last size (No. 10, of one hundred holes) are called *másit túl*,—small, like powder grains,—and these are said to be prepared for use in chewing with the betel by rich natives.

There are also pearl excrescences, cut from the oyster shell, of various sizes and shapes, which will not pass through the sieves; these are included and noted in the Government sample, to show that all its outturn of every character is fairly exhibited for the information of the speculators.

Each of the ten sizes may include some of every class of pearls; the 20 to 80 and 100 may each have the *ápi*, *anatari*, and *kallippú* kinds, and this necessitates the operation of classing, which requires great judgment on the part of the valuers.

It is said that no two valuers will class a given set of pearls alike, and that one person does not class twice in the same manner.

Perfection in pearls consists in shape and lustre, viz., sphericity and a silvery brightness, free from any discolouration; and according as the pearls possess these essentials the valuers assign their appropriate class, namely:—

- | | | |
|----------------|-----|---|
| <i>A'ni</i> | ... | Perfect in sphericity and lustre. |
| <i>Anatari</i> | ... | Followers or companions, but failing somewhat in point of sphericity or lustre. |
| <i>Masanku</i> | ... | Imperfect, failing in both points, especially in brilliancy of colour. |

<i>Kallippú</i>	... Failing still more in both points.
<i>Kural</i>	... A double pearl, sometimes <i>áni</i> .
<i>Pisal</i>	... Misshapen, clustered, more than two to each other.
<i>Maḍaṅku</i>	... Folded or bent pearls.
<i>Vaḍivu</i>	... Beauty of several sizes and classes.
<i>Túḷ</i>	... Small pearls of 800 to 1,000 size.

The pearls having been thus sized and classed, each class is weighed and recorded in *kaḷañchu* and *mañchádi*.

The *kaḷañchu* is a brass weight equal, it is said, to sixty-seven grains Troy. The *mañchádi* is a small red berry; each berry, when full-sized, is of nearly, or exactly, the same weight; they are reckoned at twenty to the *kaḷañchu*.

The weights being ascertained, the valuation is then fixed to each pearl class or set of pearls, according to the respective sizes and classes: the inferior qualities solely according to weight in *kaḷañchu* and *mañchádi*; the superior, *áni*, *anatarí*, and *vaḍivu*, are not valued only by weight, but at so much *per chevo* of their weight, this *chevo* being the native or pearl-valuer's mode of assigning the proper value by weight to a valuable article of small weight, form and colour also considered.

This is but a meagre explanation of the native system of valuing pearls, which is full of intricate details that cannot now be entered into.

Mr. Gillman, formerly of the Ceylon Civil Service, has given the subject great consideration, and at my request wrote an interesting account of it after the fishery of 1857–1858, published, I think, in the Sessional Papers for that year.*

FISHING PROCEEDINGS.

Early in February, the Superintendent and Inspector of the Banks, with the needed Establishments—Judicial, Medical, Police, and Clerical—assemble at Salápatturai, an arid, desolate, sea-shore village on the north-west coast of Ceylon, scarcely inhabited, and so situated as to the exact position from which

* See Appendix.

the fishing boats can daily go to and from the pearl banks—distant from the shore from eight to twelve miles.

This village affords space for all the needs of a fishery, and is too far distant from any place for its results to be the cause of annoyance to any but those whom duty or inclination collect on the spot.

Before the end of February Salápatturai is thronged with a population of many thousands,—pearl merchants, buyers, traders, beggars, divers, boatmen, boat-owners, coolies, and visitors,—brought thither by the varied interests of the fishery, all combining to form what may be called an Eastern Fair. There may be seen the light brown Singhalese with beautiful long black hair confined with a large comb, effeminate in appearance as compared with the dark Tamil by his side, and the generally burly, strong, shrewd Moorman; then the varied tribes of the Chetty caste, some with peculiar hats and turbans, others in coats with jewelled buttons and large earrings, some only in simple white sarong around the loins and loosely thrown over the dark well-formed shoulders. All these varied costumes, corresponding to country, caste, and class, set forth the human form in the East in a manner far more picturesque and characteristic than the fashions of the West can do.

Throughout February boats arrive with the sea breeze, laden with men, women, and children, and the materials for their trades and habitations. It is wonderful, considering the long distances these open boats come from the continent of India, that loss of life seldom occurs.

By the end of February the barren sand village of Salápatturai is filled with five thousand or six thousand persons, housed in *kajan* buildings, according to the means or caste of the resident.

Koddus, or enclosed spaces, for the deposit and decomposition of the oysters bought at the Government public sales, are erected on the seabeach to the south of the inhabited ground, and as the prevailing winds are from the north and east, the stench of the decaying oysters is carried away from

all but the parties engaged at the *koddus* in receiving, stacking, guarding, and washing, but an occasional burst of strong southerly wind disperses the aroma of the pearl oyster over all parts; and this is indeed a trial, for the stench is intolerable and indescribable.

Then come flies—innumerable—of the largest kind; indeed flies are constant plagues, but are worse with a southerly wind, everything being covered with a black mass,—a glass of wine or water must be drunk as poured out, or it is filled with flies,—but southerly winds do not last long, and it seems as though providentially arranged that the prevailing winds should aid the purposes and needs of a pearl fishery. The land or night winds are from the east, fair and gentle, to carry the boats out to the banks, and also to bear the effluvia of the oysters from the land out seaward, thus giving the inhabitants a somewhat sweetened period at night for rest; then the sea or midday breeze is from the northward, and brings the boats quickly from the banks to the shore, whilst carrying away most of the oyster aroma from the inhabitants of Salá patturai.

SELECTION OF BOATS FOR FISHING.

A very important matter is the arrangement for the number of boats and divers required and authorised to fish.

The boats are all registered as they arrive, and after the date fixed for closing this list, there is an examination as to size, condition, fitting, and crews. Many have to be thus rejected; but as the residue are always many more than needed, the fortunate privilege of being engaged in the fishery is determined by lottery.

A selection would be difficult, and certainly not give satisfaction, whilst the result of the lottery is borne as a matter of fate or ill luck.

This lottery is the first great, I may say momentous, event of the fishery, as the interests of one thousand five hundred to two thousand persons as divers, boatmen, and boatowners are concerned.

It is thus conducted : say that 50 boats are required, and that there are 75 well found from various places of Ceylon and India; the prizes are regulated as near as possible to the proportion, and in the desire to give employment to the boats from each place, namely :—

Kilakkarai	boats 14,	equal to about one-fifth of the 75	... 9 prizes
Talaimannár	do. 14	do.	do. ... 9 do.
Návánturai	do. 13	do.	do. ... 9 do.
Kalpiṭiya	do. 6	do.	do. ... 4 do.
Pámpaṇ	do. 5	do.	do. ... 2 do.

and so on.

On the day of the lottery the Kachchéri grounds are crowded with hundreds to witness the proceedings, to wish good luck to friends, and to laugh at the unfortunate.

The Superintendent, calling a set of boats, counts the number of prize and blank tickets into a bowl, and the tindals, showing their register numbers, draw. Agitation, anxiety, and eagerness are naturally depicted; many appear to utter a prayer or invocation, the Catholics cross themselves, some are almost too nervous to take out the paper, which, when done, is handed to the Superintendent, who opens and declares prize or blank; and so eagerly do they watch his glance, that I have recognised disappointment or joy before I gave the result. If successful, they are greeted by their friends; if not, by the laughter of the bystanders. The unsuccessful are, however, mostly afterwards employed: some get the places of boats misbehaving, and if the extra number of boats is larger, two divisions are employed; for as the people connected as boatmen, divers, &c., come long distances, and embark their means in this hope of work and gain at the fishery, the effort is made to employ all before the fishery is closed; but the first selected have the claim to and good fortune of continuous employment.

DIVERS' SHARE OF OYSTERS.

The crew of a boat consists of twenty-three persons, viz., one *tindal* or steersman; one *sámán vattai* in charge of the boat; one *toḍḍi*, who bales out water and cleans the

boat ; ten divers, two for each stone ; ten *manducks*, or divers' attendants, to pull up the stone and oysters ; and five diving stones are allowed and required to each boat.

The remuneration for fishing up the oysters was, in my time, one-fourth of the quantity daily fished. This compact ensures the certainty of every possible exertion from all concerned, avoids consequences that might arise if remunerated by daily pay, and the speculative character of each day's work gives, to all concerned, the personal interest needed to carry on the hard and anxious work of a pearl fishery. Each boat's share is divided by themselves daily, according to very old established customs ; and the earnings of the divers at good and large fisheries are very considerable. The division is as follows :—*Sámán vattai*, *tindal*, and *toḍḍi*, the oysters brought up in two diversings for each stone ; two divers of each stone, 2s. 3d. ; two *manducks* for each stone, 1s. 3d. ; the boatowner, the whole of the boat's share once in six days of fishing, but not to be taken previous to the third day's fishing.

COMMENCEMENT OF FISHING.

The fishery commences on the first night. The boats go to the banks, and this creates great interest and excitement. Thousands assemble on the beach to see the start.

The *tindals*, who carry on the right arm the ticket number of that painted on the bows of each boat, assemble with crew and divers, and as the beachmaster checks each, they go to their boats and make preparation for getting under weigh directly the signal is given. At midnight a gun is fired ; the *Adappaṇār*, or senior headman, with a light at the mast head of his boat, leads off. In a few minutes all the boats—sometimes one hundred—are under press of sail, and the sight is very interesting and exciting, as the crews cheer and the people on shore echo these, whilst the white sails following the signal light of the *Adappaṇār*, may, on a fine night, be seen for miles.

The Inspector's guard vessel, anchored close to the fishing ground, carries a light at the main top mast head, and on dark

nights blue lights and rockets are burned to show her position.

The banks, distant from Salápatturai from ten to twelve miles, are reached about three or four o'clock in the morning.

DIVING AND FISHING FOR OYSTERS.

At six in the morning a gun is fired for the boats to get under weigh and follow the Inspector and headman to the fishing ground buoyed out for each day's work; and as the sun rises, and the sea gets calm, the busy hum of two to three hundred persons at work is heard.

As before noted, each boat has ten divers and five diving stones—three working on one side and two on the other. The stones are suspended on a running rope over an outrigger projected from the boat's side, in such a convenient position as to allow the diver to place one foot within a loop affixed to the stone; these, of about fourteen pounds in weight, are used to accelerate the diver's descent to the bottom,—a dive of 40 to 50 feet,—and I have seen a corpulent, and therefore more buoyant, diver carry a stone affixed to his waist.

The diver having placed himself with one foot on the stone, with a coir net around his neck to hold oysters, draws in his breath, closes the nostrils with one hand, and raises his body to give force to the descent. The *manduck* in charge of the stone and net lets go, and the diver rapidly reaches the bottom, leaves the stone (which the *manduck* instantly hauls up and refixes), throws himself on the ground, creeping along, and fills his net with oysters. This done, he jerks the rope, which is pulled up by the *manduck* in charge, and the contents of the net discharged into the boat; the diver meanwhile rises to the surface, ready to repeat diving until the number of his turns is over, when the second five divers and five *manducks* work in the same manner. Thus, under the excitement of expected gain, the divers continue for six hours at this most trying exertion. They remain under water about 50 seconds; I have timed 60 to 70 seconds, but such time for general work is, I believe, exceptional.

The number of oysters obtained at each dive depends, of course, upon whether the oysters are in plenty together, and the nature of the ground : if very rocky, the oysters are not so easily detached and picked up. I have known of eighty : but forty to fifty is very good, and would give over twenty thousand as a day's fishing. At the fishery of 1857, when the total yield was over thirty-two million of oysters, and the daily yield from one to one and a half million, some boats brought loads of thirty to forty thousand.

At 12 or 1 o'clock, according as the sea breeze sets in, the Inspector fires the signal gun to leave off fishing. Soon every boat is under sail for Salápatturai, racing to be first in and discharged at the Government *koddu*, as this is recorded, and gives consideration for employment during extra days ; then the first discharged gets, of course, first sale and best prices for the oysters they care to sell instead of wash.

Between 3 and 4 o'clock the boats are in, and discharging their oysters into the Government *koddu*—a very large space on the beach, enclosed by a wall of thick sticks, within which are marked out matted spaces bearing the number of each boat. The crew deposit the loads therein, and the divers arrange and divide the oysters into four lots. The Government officer in charge of the *koddu* awards one of each four divisions, and as the diver does not know which of the four heaps may be assigned, they very fairly divide the oysters. They take their shares away, and the remaining three shares are at once heaped together, and counted by men specially paid for this very hard and trying work to the hands. When the counting is finished, a return of the Government share of each boat, and the total of the day's fishing for sale, is made to the Superintendent.

SALE AND DELIVERY OF OYSTERS.

A sale is held daily as the Kachchéri, by the Superintendent putting up the oysters in lots of one thousand, with the right of the buyer to take at the price knocked down from

one thousand to twenty or thirty thousand, according to the quantity for the day's sale ; and when there are no combinations, purchases are quickly made for the larger quantities ; but when there is either combination to lower prices or opposition between the Chetties and Moormen, the sales are prolonged by lots of one thousand or two thousand, and all possible ingenuity exercised to effect the object in view : indeed, the sales are always the cause of much excitement and amusement.

As soon as the buyers pay, delivery orders are issued, and deliveries by counting are made by the *koddu* officers. This goes on daily from the first day of the fishing until the conclusion. The work is incessant upon all the Establishments ; there can be no regulated hours, all must work as the need requires. In 1857 (the period of thirty two millions) the large quantities daily fished (often over a million), and the combination of buyers, so retarded the sales that I was often kept at this work until 10 o'clock at night.

Then at times the sea breeze blows very strong and not fair, driving the boats to leeward of Salápatturai, obliging them to pole for miles along the shore, getting in late—some during the night ; then the shore has to be lighted with “chools,” and guards posted to prevent oysters being illicitly landed, and of course all the Establishments have to be in attendance.

The only relaxation from incessant work occurs from an occasional southerly gale, or the combination proceedings staying daily fishing.

In 1885, 20 days' fishing yielded over 6,000,000 oysters, which sold at an average of ... £1. 10s. }

In 1857, 23	do.	32,000,000	...	£0. 16s.	} per 1,000.
In 1858, 18	do.	16,000,000	...	£1. 19s.	
In 1859, 18	do.	12,000,000	...	£5. 5s.	
In 1860, 14	do.	3,000,000	...	£13. 15s.	

The total fished at this series exceeded 72,000,000 oysters, the Government share of 54,000,000 selling for £140,300 gross, giving, less expenditure, a net revenue of £117,453 ;

and the divers' share, being 18,000,000 oysters, gave to divers, boatmen, and boat-owners a recompense of £53,000 and over. The total sale value of the oysters at this series of five fisheries was over £190,000.

Then, as the expenses attending the washing of the oysters for pearls are considerable, so the outturn of these must have been great and very valuable indeed, and explains in a great degree the increased prices given by the buyers of oysters at the fisheries of 1855-60, though no doubt the more limited quantities then fished, and the known character of the Mōdarāgam Paar, fished in 1859-60 for *āpi* pearls of the large kind, much influenced speculators.

The getting of wealth by pearls from the sea, like the getting of gold from the earth, has, besides hard toil and anxieties, the attendant risks of sickness, as the congregation of thousands too generally creates disease. Outbreaks of cholera prematurely closed the pearl fisheries of 1858-59; but for this the fishery of 1858 might have yielded £50,000 instead of £24,000, and that of 1859 £70,000 instead of £48,000.

At these fisheries deaths from cholera amongst the divers and boatmen and people caused panic, their rapid desertion of Salāpatturai, and the premature closing of fishing, whilst oysters were in plenty on the banks.

In 1858, before the Establishments could be got away, cases of cholera occurred amongst the troops and police, and during a voyage to Colombo of twenty-four hours there were five deaths.

I have never forgotten that night's passage. Sea sickness was believed to be the commencement of cholera; the calls on the medical staff were incessant, and the anxieties of all on board very great; indeed, I believe another twenty-four hours of passage would have frightened many more to death.

In 1859 the Establishments did not suffer, but before the cholera outbreak I was ill with dysentery, and as I could

not, and would not, leave my duties so long as fishing lasted, the cholera outbreak in stopping the fishery was possibly, in a sense, providential to myself, as I might have died at Salápatturai from dysentery, for the illness got worse, and obliged me to leave Ceylon for the recovery of health. The Almighty, in His great mercy, restored my health, enabling me to return to Ceylon, and serve there until 1882, when I retired from the office of Treasurer, after a public service of over fifty years.

A large Pearl Fishery is expected in 1888, and I say to those who have the time and inclination for travel: "Go and see this most interesting proceeding and the beauties of Ceylon." The voyage is a pleasure trip: Gibraltar, Malta, Perim, and Aden, instructive in themselves, and gratifying to see as salient points of England's Empire.

If you make Colombo in the early morn of the north-east monsoon, when the sun is lighting up nature, you will see the mountains looming in the distance, especially Adam's Peak, wonderful in sight and legend; the shore, lined to the sea edge with the cocoanut and other palms—a wondrous, soft, enchanting sight, that clings to memory, as in my case, for now over fifty years, when I first saw the shores of Ceylon on entering Trincomalee harbour.

The Colombo Breakwater, a great engineering work, lately completed (under the Government of our Chairman, Sir James Longden), giving easy access and safe anchorage to the largest class of steamers, and now entered by vessels of all nations; then the Town of Colombo, the Cinnamon Gardens, and the Lake, are full of interest.

The Railway, wonderfully constructed around mountain heights to a summit of over five thousand feet, will convey you first to Kandy, a beautiful place, and once the capital of the Kandyan kings; from thence through the Tea, Coffee, and Cinchona districts to Nuwara Eliya, the sanitarium of Ceylon.

Then there are the interesting Ruins of Anurádhapura, testifying to the former greatness of Ceylon under her very ancient native dynasty.

If you see all this with the mind as well as the eye, you will be mentally improved, and I hope acquire the feelings that bring Ceylonites together in their regard and admiration for their lovely Island—The Pearl, indeed, of England's Colonial Diadem.

APPENDIX.

VALUATION OF PEARLS IN CEYLON.

PEARL VALUATION is a subject that has been somewhat elaborated by the refinements or the policy of pearl merchants; but stripped of the obscure and roundabout methods usually employed, it will be seen to be, at bottom, a comparatively simple process; and the groundwork being once understood, the nature of all native adjuncts may be then readily comprehended.

The following account does not profess to be a complete one, or to give all that might be said on the subject. It has been gleaned chiefly from conversations with native merchants, from analyses of published statements of valuation, and from entries in old Diaries of the Pearl Fishery, till lately filed in the Jaffna Kachchéri.

In the process of valuing a given quantity of pearls there may be particularised four distinct steps, or operations, each in itself sufficiently simple, viz. :—

- i.—Sizing, or arranging all the given pearls into ten different sizes, from the largest to the smallest.
- ii.—Classing, or sub-dividing according to shape and lustre each of these ten different sizes.
- iii.—Weighing the pearls in each of all these classes separately.
- iv.—Assigning the money value to such pearls, each in its class, by weight, and the market price per weight at the time of the valuation.

If the distinctiveness of these four operations be borne well in mind, it will be easy to realise the actual manner in which each operation is conducted by native valuers.

I.—SIZING THE PEARLS.

This is done by passing them successively through small brass sieves (*peḍḍi*, or “baskets” as they are commonly termed in English), like saucers in shape, of about three inches broad and one inch deep, with the holes in the lower part. There are ten such sieves, with holes of ten different sizes.

The pearls are sifted first in the sieve with the largest holes; the pearls retained by it without passing through are the largest, the first size in fact.

Such pearls as pass through it are then sifted again in the second sieve, having next smaller-sized holes. Pearls retained by it are those of the second size, and those that pass through it are again sifted in the third sieve, with holes of next smaller size; and so on through the whole ten sieves or baskets.

Thus the pearls are divided into ten sizes, which the valuer generally places now on ten pieces of cloth on the table before him.

II.—CLASSING THE PEARLS.

Each of the ten sizes is classed separately. This step in the process of valuation is the one that chiefly requires skill and judgment on the part of the valuer. It is said, however (and with truth), that no two persons will class a given set of pearls exactly alike, and that any one person cannot class the same set twice in the same manner.

The perfection of shape in pearls is sphericity, and the perfection of “water,” or lustre, is a silvery brightness, free from spots or discolourations, and according as each pearl has these two qualities—viz., shape and lustre—in a greater or lesser degree, so does the valuer assign such pearl to its appropriate “class.”

Convention has established several classes, each indicating shades of differences between pearls in respect of the two qualities mentioned. The best description that can be given of these classes is a recital of their names with the meanings of them, which for the most part indicate their respective characteristics. They are as follows:—

Chevvu.

- i.—*A'ni* (அணி): perfect in sphericity and lustre.
- ii.—*Anatāri* (அனதாரி): failing somewhat in one point, either sphericity or lustre.
- iii.—*Samatayam* (சமதயம்): failing in both points, but not very much.
- iv.—*Kaiyēral* (கையேரல்): failing still more in both points.

- v.—*Machchakai* (மச்சகை): an appropriate name.
 vi.—*Vaḍivu* (வடிவு): "beauty."
 vii.—*Maḍaṅku* (மடங்கு): "folded" or "bent" pearls.

Kalañchu.

- viii.—*Kuruval* (குறுவல்): "double" pearl, sometimes double *A'ni*.
 ix.—*Kalippu* (கலிப்பு): "abundance."
 x.—*Pisal* (பிசல்): mis-shapen.
 xi.—*Kuraḷ* (குறல்): very mis-shapen and small.
 xii.—*Tūḷ* (துள்): small as "powder."

These classes of pearls are those into which the ten "sizes," such as result from sifting, are each generally sub-divided. After them all may be added :—

- xiii.—*Māsu-tūḷ* (மாசுதுள்): small, like "powder," and generally discoloured—a class which usually contains those pearls that may have passed through the tenth sieve, constituting, as it were, an eleventh "size."
 xiv.—*Oḍḍumutta* (ஒட்டமுத்த): "shell pearls." Those that have adhered to, or seem like excrescences on the shells, are generally not subjected to the process of sifting. They constitute a "class" by themselves, independent of their "sizes."

On reverting to the first operation, that of sizing, it is plain now that each of the ten sizes of pearls may include those of almost every class; for instance, among the first size of pearls (those retained in the first sieve or "basket," without being sifted through) there may occur pearls of classes such as *A'ni*, *Aṇatāri*, *Pisal*, &c., though not such classes as *Tūḷ* and such-like.

III.—WEIGHING THE PEARLS.

The third step in the process of valuation is that of weighing the pearls in each class. This is, of course, a very simple operation, if the scales be finely balanced, as they ought to be. There is nothing to remark upon except the system of weights, which is peculiar. These weights are known by the names of *kaḷañchu* and *mañchāḍi* (20 *mañchāḍi* = 1 *kaḷañchu*).

* These pearls are found in the 5th, 6th, and 7th sieves.

The *mañchāḍi* as commonly used is not a brass weight, as the *kaḷañchu* is, but a small red berry of that name. These *mañchāḍi* berries, when of the full size, have the property of being all very nearly, or exactly, of the same weight, which of course fits them well for the purpose.

Stewart gives $7\frac{1}{2}$ grains as the English weight equivalent to that of the *mañchāḍi*. From a mean of several weighings, however, I find the *mañchāḍi* equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains, or more exactly $3\frac{1}{16}$; and therefore the *kaḷañchu* is equal to 67 grains.

There is also another kind of berry called *kuḍḍumaṇi* used; its weight, when in its full size, is half that of the *mañchāḍi*.

Fractional parts of these weights are in frequent use by valuers. They manage to obtain such by using grains of rice, or bits of grains, whose weights are determined beforehand.

IV.—ASSIGNING THE MONEY VALUE OF THE PEARLS.

The fourth and last step in the process is the affixing the money value to each pearl, or set of pearls, in their respective "sizes" and "classes."

This is an arithmetical calculation of the simplest kind with regard to the pearls of the inferior classes,—viz., the *Kuruval* class, the *Kalippu* class, the *Pisal* class, the *Kural* class, the *Tūḷ* class, the *Māsu-tūḷ* class, and *Odḍumutta* class, and often the *Maḍaṇku* class,—for these pearls' weight being ascertained, each in its class as before mentioned, in *kaḷañchu* and *mañchāḍi*, their money value may be then obtained immediately from the market price of such pearls at the time, at so many star pagodas (Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ each) per *kaḷañchu*.

Though scarcely necessary, an example will make this still clearer.

Example.—Suppose that in the second sieve (that "No. 30") there are found (say) 17 *Kalippu* pearls, which weigh together 10 *mañchāḍi*; and suppose we know the market price for such pearls at the time of valuation to be 12 star pagodas per *kaḷañchu* (20 *mañchāḍi*): then the value of those 17 *Kalippu* pearls will, of course, be 6 star pagodas, or Rs. 21. Thus:—

Mañchāḍi.		Star Pagodas.		Mañchāḍi.
20	:	12	::	10
		10		

20)120(6 star pagodas, or Rs. 21.

The classes just enumerated are the inferior classes, and as seen, pearls of these classes are valued by simple weight at so much per *kalafichu*, the market price of course varying for pearls of the various "sizes."

But this is not the plan followed with regard to pearls of the superior classes—viz., 1, the *A'ni* class; 2, *Aṇatāri*; 3, *Samatayam*; 4, *Kaiyēral*; and generally also 5, the *Vaḍivu* class; and 6 (if tolerably good), the *Machchakai* class.

Pearls of these classes are not valued by simple weight at so much per weight, but at so much per *chevru* of their weight.

This *chevru* is a conventional artifice for assigning the proper value by weight to a very valuable article of very small weight. Its effect is much the same as if valuers agreed to assign to these classes of pearls increased weights above their real weights, and then valued the pearls at these fictitious weights.

Something of this nature is usual with diamond merchants also. Suppose that a diamond weighing one carat is valued at £8; then one weighing two carats will be valued at £8 × 2, or £16; but a diamond weighing three carats will not be valued simply at £8 multiplied by 3, or £24, but at £8 by the square of 3, or £8 × 3 × 3 = £72; likewise a diamond of four carats is valued at £8 × 4 × 4 = £128, and a diamond of five carats at £8 × 5 × 5 = £200.

The price of the diamond is thus found on multiplying £8 (price of one carat) by the square of the weight (in carats) of the diamond.

This is a good illustration to show what valuation by *chevru* weight of pearls means. The *chevru* weight is simply three-fourths of the square of the weight (in *mañchāḍi*) of the pearls.

Suppose, for example, there be a large *A'ni* pearl of first sieve weighing four *mañchāḍi*, and that we know the market price of *A'ni* pearls of first sieve to be, at the time, 11 star pagodas per *chevru*. What is the value of such an *A'ni*?

$$\text{Square of four } mañchāḍi, 4 \times 4 = 16$$

$$\text{Three-fourths of this} \quad = 12$$

(As just stated, this 12 is the *chevru* of the weight 4.)

Then 12×11 star pagodas = 132 star pagodas, or Rs. 462, the value of this one pearl.

This extreme example will tend to make the principle clear. The weight of the pearl (superior classes) having been found in *mañchāḍi*, three-fourths of the square of this weight is taken. This is the

chevru. Then the money value follows at once from the market price per *chevru* at the time.

If there be more pearls than one of the same "size" and "class," they are generally weighed and valued together, and then the *chevru*, calculated from the weight of all these pearls together, is to be divided by the number of pearls before calculation of the money value of each pearl is made.

In practice, from the nature of the small weights used, fractions of different kinds would come into the *chevru* calculation. To preserve uniformity in such fractions, and in the results arrived at, convention has established that all the fractions in the calculations be reduced, or made, to have the number 320 as denominator, this number being one that can, from the nature of the weights in use, arise in *chevru* calculations.

The actual process, then, in use by native merchants, may be stated thus :—

- i.—The weight, in *mañchādi*, of the pearl (or pearls, if there be more than one of the same "size" and "class") is reduced to a fraction having 320 as its denominator.
- ii.—The numerator of the fraction is multiplied by itself, *i.e.*, its square found.
- iii.—Three-fourths of the square is taken.
- iv.—The result is divided by the pearls (if there be more than one, as above stated).
- v.—The result is then divided twice consecutively by the number 320, which gives, as the final result, the *chevru* of the weight in the form of a fraction with 320 as its denominator, as required.
- vi.—And the money value then follows from the (known) market price of the pearl (or pearls) per *chevru* at the time.

Such is the plan followed by native pearl merchants with regard to pearls of the superior "classes" above mentioned. Probably only a few of these men see that all they do is simply calculating three-fourths of the square of the pearls' weight. To facilitate their own operations they have certain tables, constructed once for all; and besides these, something like a multiplication table to 320 times, which one may sometimes hear them repeating to themselves. But all these aids are quite unnecessary to anyone who can work an ordinary sum in "rule of three."

It may be well to give a few examples taken from old published statements of valuation.

Example 1.—Fourth sieve, 8 *Aṇṭāri* pearls, weight $1\frac{1}{8}$ *mañchāḍi*, market price 8 star pagodas per one *chevru*. What is the value of each *Aṇṭāri*?

$$\begin{array}{r}
 1\frac{1}{8} \text{ mañchāḍi} = \frac{1}{8} = \frac{1}{8} \\
 \text{Then, } \quad 340 \\
 \quad \quad 340 \\
 \hline
 \quad \quad 13600 \\
 \quad \quad 1020 \\
 \hline
 \quad \quad 115,600 = \text{square of } 340 \\
 \text{Deduct } \frac{1}{8} = 28,900 \\
 \hline
 \quad \quad 86,700 = \text{three-fourths of square of } 340.
 \end{array}$$

Then $\frac{86,700}{320 \times 320} = \frac{1}{320}$, which is the *chevru* of these 8 pearls; and *chevru* of each = $\frac{1}{8}$ of this = $\frac{1}{256}$ nearly; which at 8 star pagodas, or Rs. 28, per one *chevru*, is valued at Rs. 2.2½ annas nearly.

Where the weight is large it is shorter to postpone to the end of the operation the bringing of the fractions to the denominator 320.

Example 2.—Three pearls weigh 1 *kajañchu* and $\frac{3}{4}$ *mañchāḍi*. What is the *chevru* of each?

Here 1 *kajañchu* and $\frac{3}{4}$ *mañchāḍi* = $20\frac{3}{4}$ *mañchāḍi* = $\left(\frac{83}{4}\right)^2$ *mañchāḍi*; and $\left(\frac{83}{4}\right)^2 = \frac{6889}{16}$, three-fourths of which = $\frac{20667}{64}$. This is the *chevru* of all these pearls together; the *chevru* of each one = $\frac{1}{3}$ of this = $\frac{6889}{64} = 107\frac{1}{4}$, or, with denominator 320, = $107\frac{1}{4}$, the *chevru* required.

NOTE A.—The first four “sieves” or “baskets” are called *chevru peddi* (චෙරුවෙට්ටු), or the “*chevru* baskets,” from the fact that in them chiefly are found the pearls of “size” and “class” good enough and valuable enough to be valued by *chevru* weight, and not simple weight; though this does not by any means prevent pearls of the inferior classes also occurring in these four sieves.

The next three sieves are called *vadivup peddi* (வடிவப்பெட்டி), or the “*vadivu* baskets,” because the good pearls in them are called

vaḍivu, or "beautiful." The pearls of these three sieves (excluding generally those of the *Maḍanku* class) are also valued by *chevru* weight, so that the *vaḍivu* baskets are, in a measure, *chevru* baskets also.

NOTE B.—Like all other things of the kind in the world, these "sieves" or "baskets" are sometimes made the means of deception. Pearl merchants sometimes have one set of sieves for buying with and another set for selling with. Indeed it is obvious that if the holes be of too large a size, a pearl which should properly belong (say) to the first sieve in size, might pass through it and be reckoned as of only the second sieve in size, and its value be thereby depreciated.

However, there is a rule for determining the proper size of the sieve-holes. It is this for the first "sieve" or "basket":—

Rule.—Suppose one has twenty perfectly spherical and equal-sized *A'ni* pearls of such size as to weigh together exactly 1 *kaḷañchu* (= 20 *mañchāḍi*); then the diameter of any one of these pearls is the diameter proper for the holes of the first sieve. Hence this sieve is called usually the sieve or basket "20," by which number it is usually known and indicated.

Similarly, the second sieve is called the basket "30," from the fact that the diameter of its holes should be that of any one of 30 equal and spherical pearls weighing together one *kaḷañchu*; and so on through all the sieves, which are usually known by the following numbers:—

20, 30, 50, 80	... <i>Chevru peddi</i>
100, 200, 400	... <i>Vaḍivu peddi</i>
600, 800, 1,000	... <i>Tuḷ peddi</i>

though the rule does not apply very strictly to any but the first four sieves, the pearls in the others being so small that a few over or under the numbers mentioned will not turn the scale.

Stewart has made a curious mistake in his "Account of the Pearl Fisheries." He says the first basket has twenty holes, and is therefore called the "20 basket," and so of the others, as if this would fix the size of the holes. The fact, too, is, the baskets have not "20," "30," &c., holes.

NOTE C.—With regard to the weights in use, Mr. Dyke has informed me that pearl merchants sometimes make them also a means of deception. Being desirous on one occasion of getting a true set of weights, he experienced great difficulty in doing so, and finally succeeded only by a stratagem.

NOTE D.—If a pearl or set of pearls of the same "size" and "class" be exceedingly good, pearl merchants will add on to the money value (calculated as before described) something additional according to the more than usual excellence of the article.

This is done especially with regard to pearls of the *Kuruval* class, which sometimes consist of two very fine pearls joined together, and which, when disunited, will be fine pearls for setting, though not for stringing.

Similarly, if a pearl be less excellent than is ordinarily the case, merchants will strike off something from the calculated value.

It is to be remarked, however, that the valuers called in by Government to value samples too often exercise this undoubted discretionary right to the depreciation, more than proper, of the Government samples.

HERBERT W. GILLMAN, C.C.S.

Jaifna, Ceylon, 1858.



AN ACCOUNT OF THE WEHERAGODA DÉVÁLÉ.

BY ARTHUR JAYAWARDANA, ESQ., MUDALIYAR.

IN the village Weheragoda, or, as it is incorrectly but popularly termed, Wéragoda, in the Wellaboða Pattu of Galle, there exist traces of the site of a temple called *Weheragoda Dévulé*. This site (on which, it is said, stood also a *wehera* or *viháré*, put up in the days of the King Dhutugemunu, 164 B.C.) is within sight of and a few yards from the minor road at Wéragoda—a village which seems to have derived its name from the existence of the temple. But no book now extant contains any allusion to this *viháré*, much less to the *dévulé*. The fragments of a clay lamp, two lamp-holders, and tiles,—unique in their kind, and fashioned in a manner quite unfamiliar to the oldest inhabitants of the place,—and a coin found during excavation, support the current tradition as to the existence of the *dévulé*.

This *dévulé* seems to have been built and occupied by a Malabar man called *Dewol Deviyó*, a native of “Malayálam-désa,” in India. The date of his visit, however, is not known. There are some Singhalese verses and a “raft” of granite stones at Sinigama, within the Totagamuwa division, also in the Galle Wellaboða Pattu, having reference to this *Deviyó*’s landing at that village, and his subsequent sojourn, &c., at Weheragoda. But none of these verses give the date either of his visit or of the building of the temple. The fact of his having taken up his residence, however, at Weheragoda in preference to any other place is a striking circumstance, both as pointing to the existence at the time of the *viháré* and to the reason why that place, above others, was resorted to by him.

A person professing to be a god (*deviyó*), and intending to earn a living by the offerings which such a public

profession of his supernatural origin was sure to secure for him from the people around him, must, if he cared for a successful realisation of his intentions, show himself in a place where people given up to devotion are in the habit of congregating; and no better place could have been chosen for such a purpose than the premises where a famous viháre was known to exist, as people would, as a matter of course, gather there in large numbers for devotional purposes.

The belief of the Siphalese in the supernatural powers of gods, the protection afforded by them to Buddhism, and the readiness with which they give ear to the invocations of men, the striking dissimilarity from themselves in appearance, habits, and language of this Malabar man, as also the circumstance of his being possessed of a knowledge of witchcraft, which must have at that time been looked upon as miraculous,—all this must have made the credulous regard him as a *deviyó*, and have induced them to make offerings to him.

This custom lasted for several years; and even up to the present time offerings are made at this *déválé* in the hope of protection both from calamities and even in prosperous circumstances.

Orthodox Siphalese, too, whose belief in this *deviyó* had taken an unusually strong hold of them, turned Kapurálas (demon-priests), and initiated the performance known as *Dewol-sámáyama*, or *Gini-yakuma*—a ceremony which, in behalf of sick or diseased persons, Kapurálas continue to perform up to date, dressed in scarlet garments, and dancing with lighted torches in hand, varying the wild antics they perform with occasionally treading heated coal with amazing briskness and confidence, while engaged at the same time in the manipulation with equal agility of the several tom-toms that contribute the music necessary for the ceremony. That part of the ceremony which has to do with the heated coals is enacted, I am told, in imitation of a like feat performed by the Dewol Deviyó himself.

The famous Pattini Deviyó having become jealous of the several deities landing in the Island, and fearing that Dewol Deviyó would, by the magical powers he possessed, and the other daring feats (for which as a Malabar he was distinguished), attract to himself the offerings that had hitherto been made to her, placed a great heap of red-hot coals on the spot where he landed. But with an insensibility to pain in keeping with the other supernatural gifts to which he laid claim, he is said to have trodden on these red-hot coals with the utmost calmness, and, as was to be expected, came off unhurt.

Without waiting to inquire into the probabilities of this story, it is of importance as fixing the arrival of Dewol Deviyó at a date somewhat contemporaneous with that of Pattini Deviyó. But unfortunately even the date of her arrival is not accurately known as yet.

In different other places in the low country déválés were erected in honour of this Dewol Deviyó, and the Kapurálas connected with these déválés still continue to perform these ceremonies. In Pahalagamhaya, in the Bentota-Walalláwiṭi Kóralé, this ceremony is performed once a year shortly after the *yala* harvest,—thanks being offered for the crop already reaped, and a sort of protection invoked for the coming crop, as well as for the people engaged in agricultural pursuits,—by the Kapurálas of Horawala, who are called *Sámés* (lords) in that village.

On the site at Weheragoḍa where this déválé and viháré existed, there are no buildings now except a watch-hut. There are, however, seven stone pillars on the ground marking the boundaries of the viháré or déválé. There are also on the ground lying lengthwise some stone slabs planed so as to be used for door-posts. These stone slabs may possibly have been pillars intended to point to some sacred edifice on the place, although none of them bear any inscription.

On this temple's premises there are huge umbrageous trees—one of them of a variety that no native is acquainted with—which the mind of the superstitious devotee can only

too easily imagine as being haunted by gods. In the garden Neraḷugedarawatta, about a hundred fathoms to the east of this dévalé, there is an oval-shaped well which it is said belonged to the temple. In this well there is said to be a subterraneous passage leading to the site where the dévalé stood. But no attempt seems to have been made to ascertain the correctness of this report.

At the edge of this well there is a stone slab formed into a pillar, with a lily engraved on one side near the top. There are also certain gardens in the neighbourhood of this dévalé called *Pinunwela piṭṭaniya*, where feats of strength are wont to be practised—Ilangaywatta, where dancing and beating tom-toms are practised; Maḷuwéwatta, where processions are formed and *singáram* band played; Kapugedarawatta, place of the residence of Kapuwás; Kapugoḍellawatta, a garden where there was a cotton plantation; Pokunéwatta, where there was once a pond; and Neraḷugedarawatta, a garden where there was a cocoanut plantation. All these gardens were, it is said, granted by King Bhuwaneka Báhu for defraying the ordinary expenses of the dévalé.

The circumstances under which this grant was made by the king are also a current tradition in the village. It would seem that the queen, being seriously ill, and all efforts at restoring her health having proved unsuccessful, she was warned in a dream to have a *Gini-yakum* ceremony performed by two Kapurálas attached to the Weheragoda dévalé. The king being apprised by her of this dream, a mission was at once despatched to this dévalé, and two Kapurálas brought thence in grand procession. No sooner was the ceremony performed by them than the queen wholly recovered from her disease. The king's pleasure and satisfaction at the successful issue of this marvellous ceremony were so great that he at once made a grant of the gardens referred to for the sole use of the temple. This grant, they say, was on a copperplate *sannas*, now lying, I am informed, in the archives of the Colombo Kachchéri.

This dévalé, and particularly Sínigama, are even yet the

scene of pilgrimages by Kandyans—the object of veneration at the latter place being the “stone raft,” which on inspection I found to be only a heap of stones. A dévélé, however, is being built at Sínigama by the people, thus affording a proof that offerings are largely made to it.

But that at Weheragoda there stood a vihéré as well as a dévélé admits of no doubt. Upon the suggestion of a Kapurála I had the more elevated ground of the temple premises excavated a foot deep when I last visited the place, but found only an old brick. If a proper excavation is carried out at the sites of both this dévélé and the vihéré (where a dágaba in which Buddhá's relics and other treasures are supposed to be buried, must also have doubtless existed) I have reason to believe that articles of archæological interest will be found.

As in connection with the *Káli Kóvila* of Béntoṭa, of which I had occasion to write during my residence in that District,* it is the intention of several influential headmen in the Weheragoda division to rebuild the dévélé on this site. But before the site is covered with any building it would be advisable to excavate it, as it is still almost intact, no proper excavation having been yet made. I have also heard it authoritatively said that this Dewol Deviyó worked so much on the fears of the people of Weheragoda and its environs that not even a grain of gravel has yet been removed from the premises.

* See C. A. S. Journal, Vol. VIII., No. 29, 1884, pp. 434-9.

A YEAR'S WORK AT POLONNÁRUWA.

BY S. M. BURROWS, ESQ., C.C.S.

THE Report which I have been directed to submit to Government on the results of recent excavations at Polonnáruwa contains a detailed statement of the various works undertaken there, and leaves me very little to say in this Paper. I will content myself with forwarding the text and translations of the twelve inscriptions which have been discovered during the last year, with my notes upon them; and will only dwell on one or two points which would have been out of place in my Report.

I wish first of all to say a word as to the celebrated "*Galpota*" of King Niṣṣaṅka Malla. The inscription has been dealt with both by Professor Rhys Davids and by Dr. Müller, and both have come to the same conclusion, that the received notion of the block of stone having been brought from Mihintalé is absurd and impossible, and that the word "*Sægiri*" at the end of the *sannas* is a mistake for *Sígiri*. To quote Dr. Müller's words:—*

In the margin of the stone, on the left hand, we read that this stone was brought by the strong men of Niṣṣanka from *Sægiri* (Mihintalé). This curious passage has found its way into all the books on Ceylon (Forbes, I, 420; Pridham, II, 558; Emerson Tennent, II, 589), but evidently there is a mistake in it, and it can easily be corrected. As already Forbes remarked, it is a matter of surprise that this weighty mass should have been thought worthy of being removed from Mihintalé, which is about 50 miles distant in a direct line; but if instead of "*Sægiri*" we read "*Sígiri*," it is quite natural: *Sígiri* is only 10 miles distant from Topawāwa, and it is easily understood that the engraver, who knew *Sægiri* to be a celebrated place of Buddhist worship, put this on the stone instead of *Sígiri*.

It is perhaps a little presumptuous to take up the cudgels against two such authorities: but I confess I find it very

* Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon, page 66.

hard to accept their conclusion. In the first place, there is no doubt about the lettering of the word in dispute. The part of the inscription in which it occurs is in perfect preservation, and the word is indubitably "*Segiri*."

Now, to get out of an apparent difficulty by saying that the word which presents the difficulty is obviously a mistake, is rather a heroic measure. That the engravers of these inscriptions did occasionally make mistakes, and those, too, of an elementary and obvious kind, no one who is acquainted with them can deny. But a grammatical blunder is one thing: a mistake in the name of a place thoroughly well known to everybody is another.

The fact that this enormous piece of granite was transported from a considerable distance by "the strong men of King Niṣṣapka" is not doubted by Messrs. Rhys Davids and Müller: but they refuse to believe that it was dragged all the way from Mihintalé (*Segiriya*),—some sixty miles,—and prefer to suppose that it was brought from Sígiriya, which is only fifteen miles distant. Now, in the first place, I would point out that if the fact of its transport is admitted at all (and there is no reason whatever to doubt it), it was not a much more difficult feat, considering the physical characteristics of the country, to transport it from the former than from the latter place. No hills or mountains intervene; no large rivers are interposed: the country is as level as it can be. The difficulty of making a road through thick jungle applies to the one transit as strongly as to the other. If there was a road in existence from either place to Polonnáruwa, it certainly ran from Mihintalé rather than from Sígiriya.

There is no record whatever of any visit paid by King Niṣṣapka Malla to Sígiriya; whereas there are several records (more especially the great slab inscription on the platform of the Ruwanweli Dágaba) of the state visit paid by that king to Anurádhapura, of the respect he paid to its shrines, and of the great works his piety prompted him to carry out there.

We are told that he went thither numerous attended: and the passage of chariots and horsemen, to say nothing of

the rest of his suite, implies the existence or the formation of a road of considerable dimensions. Given the use of wheeled vehicles, and the possession of large numbers of elephants, it is not difficult to guess how and by what route the monolith was dragged.

But there is still another and stronger argument in favour of the transport from Mihintalé. The inscription on the "*Galpota*" is evidently the crowning act of an inscription-loving king. It contains by far the fullest account of his life and doings, and required a material worthy of its contents. It was quite unnecessary to go so far as Sígiriya simply to find a large block of stone: that could very easily have been procured from the home quarries which supplied the materials for the great city buildings. There was every reason, from a sentimental point of view, for not going to Sígiriya: there was equally every reason for going to Segiriya.

The latter was, in Buddhist estimation, the most sacred spot in Ceylon. It was the Canterbury of Buddhism: the place at which the first great missionary first appeared, whose teaching was to direct the religious thought of the Island for two thousand years: a visit to which was the ultimate object and aspiration of every pious Buddhist. Sígiriya, so far from having any reputation for sanctity, had precisely the reverse. It was associated in the minds of the people with one of the most revolting episodes in Siphalese history; it was the last refuge of a parricide king, who tried in vain to expiate his awful crime by the strictest attention to religious observances: whose munificent endowments and elaborate penances failed to win the approbation even of the monkish chronicler of the "*Maháwapso*." A stone from Sígiriya could be nothing but a souvenir of Kásyapa the Parricide; a pious Buddhist like King Niṣṣayka would have been about as likely to claim such an origin for his great monolith as a Protestant of Queen Elizabeth's day would have been to treasure, and boast of, a relic of Bloody Mary.

There is another interesting point connected with this "*Galpota*" inscription. In it King Niṣṣayka Malla gives

the names of his queens at full length, and the name of one of them is transliterated by Dr. Müller* *Gaṅga waṃṣa kalyāṇa Mahā Dewin wahanse*. Now, in the first place, this is the only passage out of all Niṣṣaṅka Malla's inscriptions in which a caste title is added to the personal name of a queen or princess; therefore it looks as if some importance attached to the caste in question. Dr. Müller, however, passes it by without question. But the interpretation of the words *Gaṅga-vaṃṣa* is not easy. The *Gaṅga-vaṃṣa minissu* are the washers of the Oliya caste, who are not only a low caste, but come below the Paduvó and Berawáyó, and are the only caste who will carry the pingoos of the smiths. It is hardly likely that a king of such strict aristocratic ideas as Niṣṣaṅka Malla not only married a woman of a very low caste, but made the fact patent to all the world on his great "*Galpota*."

After carefully examining the word, I am of opinion that the word is not *Gaṅga*, but *Gaha*, and if so, *Gahavaṃṣa* would stand for *Gowi-vaṃṣa*, or "the Vellála caste." The question depends upon the presence or absence of the *saññoga* symbol before the second *ṃ*. The local pandit, who has had considerable experience in reading *sannas* of this period, fancies he can detect it, and no doubt Dr. Müller thought so too. I maintain that the so-called *ṃ* is written quite differently from an undoubted *ṃ* that comes a few words later, and that the appearance of the *saññoga* symbol is caused by a slight slip of the graving tool. If it is allowable to read *Gaha-vaṃṣa*, meaning the Vellála caste, some light is possibly thrown upon the inscription by the same king near the Daḷadá Mandiraya,† of which two other copies have been found this year, testifying to the importance which the king attached to its contents. In it he urges the impropriety of allowing the *Gowi-vaṃṣa* to aspire to the sovereignty, and the advisability of securing

* Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, p. 97, B (2) (3). † Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

the succession to the Kálinga dynasty. It is just possible that the king's marriage with queen Kalyāṇa of the Gowi caste had inspired that caste with the idea of securing the throne for themselves: at least there appears to be no other explanation of the king's apprehension of their probable rivalry with his own family. If, however, the reading *Gaṅga-varṣa* is insisted on, possibly *Gaṅga* may be an equivalent of Iṣwara, and so not out of the keeping with Párvati, the name of the king's mother.

I should like to call attention to a curious historical parallel, though it has no importance beyond its curiosity. In nearly all his newly-discovered inscriptions King Niṣṣanka Malla lays stress on the fact of his having *tulābhāra nengī* "ascended the scales according to his vow": the vow being to give his weight in gold to the poor. He reigned about 1187 A.D. Some fifty years before that date a hero of early English history was undergoing a similar ceremony. We are told that the pious lady Rohese, the mother of Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was the type of the devout woman of her day, was wont to weigh her son each year, on his birthday, against money, clothes, and provisions, which she gave to the poor.

I would also venture to point out the advisability, or rather the necessity, of removing at least the greater number of these inscriptions to the protection of some building under the eye of the Disáwa. The extreme importance of preserving them from further decay, not so much perhaps for archæological as for philological reasons, is too patent to need insisting on. The certainty of their rapid deterioration if constantly exposed to the weather is not the only—nor possibly the strongest—reason for their removal. The present inhabitants of Polonnaruwa are a hybrid and irreverent race, most dangerous neighbours to the ruins. Moreover, its pasture lands make the place a kind of local Texas, with many interesting examples of the tropical cowboy, a bevy of whom were seen, shortly before my arrival, amusing

themselves by throwing stones at the beautiful statues of the Galvihára.

Other iconoclasts have recently defaced a fine doorway forming part of the Waṭa Dágé, and there is every reason to believe that they or their fellows have removed the missing portions of the inscription at the Latá Maṇḍapaya for domestic purposes. An admirably carved lion, belonging to the frieze of the Waṭa Dágé, was found in the house of the local A'rachchi, performing the functions of a turmeric grinder.

To add to the horror of these general tendencies, it is well known that any stone with letters on it is popularly supposed to mark hidden treasure, concerning which fabulous notions exist in the rustic native mind. Of course, were it practicable, it would be far more satisfactory to leave all inscriptions *in statu quo*; but I am perfectly sure that in the face of the facts I have mentioned a local museum is the only place for them,—care being taken to attach to each inscription a label detailing the exact place in which it was found.

LIST OF NEWLY-DISCOVERED INSCRIPTIONS DEALT
WITH DURING MARCH, 1886.

1.—Inscription running round the four sides of the stone seat, found on excavating the inmost shrine of the Thúpárama. Complete: transcribed: translated.

2.—Inscription on two large slabs forming the side wall of the porch of the Heṭa Dágé. Complete: transcribed: translated.

3.—Inscription on a series of stone slabs forming the right-hand outer wall of the inner entrance to the Heṭa Dágé. Complete so far as it goes, but unfinished: transcribed: translated.

4.—Inscription on four sides of a stone pillar to the east of the Vishṇu Déwálé. Complete: transcribed: translated.

5.—Inscription on a large stone slab found a little to the south of the above-mentioned pillar. This is nearly complete: about six lines are missing. It is a copy of the slab to the south of the Daḷadā Māligāwa, which has already been transcribed and translated by Dr. Müller.*

6.—Inscription on a broken slab near the new Viṣṇu Déwālé, No. 1. This is very incomplete, and is another copy of the preceding inscription.

7.—Inscription on decorated frieze which ran round the inside of the Niṣṣaṅka Latā Maṇḍapaya. Very incomplete: transcribed: translated.

8.—Inscription on one (and each) of the pillars of the Niṣṣaṅka Latā Maṇḍapaya. Complete: transcribed: translated.

9.—Inscription on a broken pillar of the Niṣṣaṅka Dāna Maṇḍapaya. Complete: transcribed: translated.

10.—Two fragments found inside the newly-discovered Viṣṇu Déwālé, No. 1. Too incomplete to be intelligible.

11.—Inscription on large upright slab to the east of the main road, between the Heṭṭa Dágé and the Rankot Dágaba. Partly illegible: transcribed: translated.

12.—Inscription on a multitude of fragments found inside the outer shrine of the Heṭṭa Dágé. Partly illegible and incomplete: transcribed: translated.†

1.—*Inscription on the large Stone Seat inside
the Thúpárama.*

(Text.)

Sri Wira Nissanka Malléna Sri Parákrama Báhu nánidá
margaya sita maha nuwansa kshrirarna wenuna.

* Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 133.

† The original copies of these inscriptions have unfortunately been mislaid by Mr. Burrows. The manuscript transcripts in Roman character have therefore been followed exactly, rather than delay the printing.—*Hon. Sec.*

Okáwas raja parapuren á Kálinga Sri Parákrama Báhu Chakrawartin wahanse Lanká dipayata eka mangala dipayak men paena Lankátan kaprasa maya kotae samasta Lanká dwípaya apawaraka grahayakse sambadha kotae Sitá Chotta Gandádín ha sangra martita Maha Dambadia Maha piriwerin waeda nano sa rajádín rata bim haerae walwadanáwun balá kulunin abhayadí Dambadi waeda prattimallayak hu no daekae jaya sthamba karawá naewata Lak diu waedae bohó kal naesi tubu Lankáwahá sakwala Dambadiwae Lakdiwae tanhi tanhi sástra karawá nanose yajakayanta apamana wastu widhá kotae epamana kinudu satutunowae hawurudupatá sataratulá bhárayak naegi ran ruan wastrá baranádín lo waessa dilindu haerae lo sasun waeda kotae kaya krichchá winóda pinisa waedae hindina asanayaí.

(Slóka.)

(Translation.)

His Majesty Kálinga Chakrawarti Parákrama Báhu, who was a descendant of the Okkaka race, having made all Lapká's isle to appear like a festive island, having made all Lapká like unto a wishing tree, having made all Lapká like unto an incomparably decorated house, having subjugated in war Sitá, Chóda, Ganda, &c.,—went to Mahá Dambadiwa with great hosts; and seeing that because of his coming kings and others left their countries and came to him for protection, he treated them with kindness and stilled their fears; and having met with no rival after his landing in Dambadiwa, he erected pillars of victory, and again came to Lapká's isle. Lapká having been neglected for a long time, he erected almshouses at different places throughout the whole of Dambadiwa and Ceylon; and on his return spent ever so much treasure on mendicants. Not being content with all this, he determined on a distribution of alms four times in every year, and by [giving] gold, jewels, cloth, ornaments, &c., having extinguished the poverty of the inhabitants of the world, and done good to the world and to religion,—this is the seat on which he sat to allay bodily weariness.

(Notes.)

This fine stone slab was found under masses of *débris* in the inner shrine of the Thúpárama. It lies exactly underneath the principal altar, and rests on what appear to be four capitals of pillars. I am inclined to think it is not in its original position, partly from the fact of its supports having evidently been intended for another purpose, and partly because it is hardly likely that the king sat down "to rest from body weariness" in the most sacred part of a Buddhist temple.

I think there is no doubt that this is one of Niṣṣaṅka Malla's inscriptions, though he calls himself by almost as many names and titles as he ascribes to himself virtues and victories. I have a word or two to say regarding this king, as I think he has been hardly dealt with by Drs. Goldschmidt and Müller. They both observe that the "Maháwayso" is silent about the great political and military acts of which Niṣṣaṅka Malla has left so many memorials, while at the same time the "Maháwayso" ascribes various similar acts to Parákrama Báhu the Great, and therefore conclude that Niṣṣaṅka's oft-repeated glories are flights of the imagination, and that he drew largely on Parákrama Báhu's career for his own self-laudation. I am very much inclined to suspect that the reverse may have been the case. It is perfectly true that all his inscriptions teem with high-flown encomiums on himself, his race, and his actions. But this surely is not an uncommon characteristic of Oriental inscriptions. It is equally apparent, in the light of recent discoveries, that Niṣṣaṅka Malla erected a very large proportion of the important edifices of Polonnaruwa; and there is no reason to doubt that he carried out extensive and costly repairs at Anurádhapura and Dambulla. There are several points in the inscriptions he has left behind him which may give us a clue to the silence of the "Maháwayso" respecting him. Although he erected several buildings in honour of Buddha, it does not appear that he did much for, or interested himself much in, the priesthood. His tastes seem

to have lain rather in the direction of foreign conquest and lavish almsgiving than of the endowment of vihāras. According to his inscription at the Ruwanweli Dāgaba, Anurādhapura, he appears to have dealt with those who threw off their robes and did work which disgraced the church. According to the "*Galpota*," he "expelled the unrighteous from the religious communities, and thus freed the country in general from the thorns (of evil-doers)." In the frieze inscription of the Waṭa Dāgé we find him erecting a Brāhmaṇa alms-house. Probably none of these things were particularly pleasing to the priesthood. His predecessor Parākrama Bāhu, on the contrary, whose praises are sung in the "*Mahāwayso*" so loudly and at such length, appears to have been just such a royal devotee, of the type of Tissa and Duṭṭegemunu, as the priestly chronicler loved. The only inscription we have of his—that on the Galvihāra—reads more like the confessions and instructions of an ascetic than the memorial of a king. And it must never be forgotten that the "*Mahāwayso*" was written entirely by, and chiefly for, monks. If we had before us a fair secular and political history as well, it is more than probable that we should form a very different estimate of the various kings whose reigns are detailed in it.

I have not translated the opening words from *nānidā* to *wenuna*, because I do not understand them.

Okāwas. I have translated this literally as "the Okkāka race," instead of adopting the Sanskrit equivalent, "*Ikshvāku*."

Chakrawartin. As this word is not explained or commented on by Drs. Müller and Goldschmidt, I think the following extract will be found of interest:—

That the custom of surrounding the sepulchres of mighty kings is of remote origin throughout the East is evident from what we know of the funeral ceremonies practised at the time of the invasion of Western Asia by the Scythians, 625 B.C. Thus the Chakravartins, a branch of the great Scythian race, or Sakas, were styled the Wheel Kings,—in fact, kings of the circle,—i. e., monarchs who ruled all

within the "Chakra" of rocks supposed to surround the world. Hence, as the symbol of universal authority, the tombs of these kings, after their cremation and certain recognised ceremonies, were surrounded by a circular range of rocks or unhewn stones,—in fact, amorpholiths,—to signify that they were lords of the Universe. So Śākya Buddha requested that he should be buried according to the rules of the Chakrawartins.*

Wahanse, derived by Dr. Goldschmidt from *wahan*, "slippers," which always formed part of the royal insignia. This however does not explain the termination *se* (though Goldschmidt thinks this may be a local accusative); and it is curious that the slippers, of all emblems, should have been chosen to form a title of respect. Unless, indeed, as the modern petitioner "throws himself at your honour's two feet," so the ancient courtier spoke of "the king's most excellent slippers" when he meant "his majesty."

Sitā Chotta Gandādīn. *Ganda* is said by Dr. Müller† to be Bengal proper; but I am not aware whether *Sitā* and *Chodā* have been identified.

Maha Dambadia. I take this to mean the Pāndi and Chóla country.

2.—*Inscription on the side of the Porch of the Hēta Dágé.*

(Text.)

Srih Dharamassoyan sarwuwa (sarbbha?) lokaika mán-yasreyo dayi sarbbadā rakshaníyah bhupalendrān yachate kirttihehor bhúyo bhúyo Wira Nissanka Malla.

Sri mat anat utun guna genen hiwi okáwas rája parapurehi wu ákásachári Kálinga Chakrawarttin wahansé kúléna Sri Jayagópa rajayan wahansé nisá Parabbati maha dewín wahansé kusen Kálinga ratae Siphapurayehi játauw Sri Sanga Bó wirarája Nissanka Malla apratimalla Kálinga Chakrawarttin wahanse rája piliwelín abhiséka ladin wotunu pae-laendae maharája tan patwa mulu Lakdiwu nishkantaka

* See "Mounds and Megaliths," by Capt. S. P. Oliver, R.A.

† Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

kotae pera rajun nobadá ayagena drástakala Lanká wasayinta pas awurududeka aya haerae hawurudupatá pas tulábhárayak dí nam gam wahal sarak pamunu parapuren ran ruan was-trábheranádi bohó vastu dí suapat karawá kaeti ada haemao kalatamae haerae wal mahá wae tanae pranayinta abhaya dí tun rajaya paedae kunu kotae sialu jala durga giri durga wana durga pañka durga ha gam bim balá loka sásana samurdha kotae yudhás eyin siywranga senanga pirawará Damba diu waedae [dwanda] yudha sená yudha ilwá noladin Chóla Pandiádi raja daruwan wela genae ewu ran aengili ha raja kanya káwan ha panduru daekae jaya sthamba karawá Lakdiu waedae milowa saturan naeti baewin paraloa saturan dinam hai sitá swadésa paradésa yehi bohó satra namwa kaprukse sarahá maha dan pawatwá daladá pátrá dhátun wahanséta urehi da Wirabahu maha pñan wahanse ha du Sarbbáñgasundarin wahanse ha pudá dedená wahanse gala-wana pinisa ghanaran dágobak karawá silámaya wáta geya Nissanka latá mandapaya Nissanka daladá geya karawá ananta vastu parittiyága kotae puja karawá bohó gam bim werawaesun pudá wadála paridden matuwana raja darnu nudu rakshá karanu manawi dahámanam me mulu lo rasaganneyae sitá de lowa sapat ada rini raekanéyae matu-wana raja wirun mesé saganneyae Kalinga Lakindu Nisaka rjwa gunawanneyae.

(Slóka.)

(Translation.)

His Majesty the Illustrious Sanga Bó Wirarája Niṣṣaṅka Malla Apratimalla Káliṅga Chakrawarti, who was born at Siphapura in the Káliṅga country, the son of his Illustrious Majesty King Jayagópa and of her Illustrious Majesty Queen Párvatí, who was of the illustrious A'káśachári Chakrawarti race, and belonged to the line of the kings of the Okkáka dynasty, whose virtues and high qualities are innumerable ; [His Majesty] having succeeded to the throne and been anointed and crowned, and become king of kings, united all Lapká under one sceptre. He conferred upon the inhabitants of Lapká a five-year's remission of those taxes which

former kings had collected unremittingly, and had thus impoverished Laṅkā. Every year he performed the vow of the scales ; his gifts of titles, villages, slaves, cattle, enviable posts, gold, jewels, cloth, ornaments, &c., were immense ; and gave satisfaction. He exempted from tax such grains as are cultivated with the *keṭi*. He gave security to animals that live in the jungles and large tanks. He journeyed throughout the three kingdoms, and inspected the strong places in the waters, and on the hills, and in the forests, and in the marshes ; and plentifully endowed both [the people of] the world and the religion. Delighting in war, and accompanied by a four-fold host, he went to India, and reduced to bondage the kings of Chóla and Páṇḍiya who refused to meet him when he challenged them to single and to general combat. He looked upon the tribute which they sent, of gold rings and royal virgins, and having erected pillars of victory, he returned to Laṅkā. As he had no enemies left in this world, he determined to gain the victory over his enemies in the other world : he adorned and enriched both his own and other countries [till they became] like wishing-trees ; and conferred vast bounties. As he had dedicated his son Wíra Báhu, the illustrious Viceroy, and his daughter Sarwáṅga Sundarí, to the illustrious Tooth and Bowl relics, in order to redeem them he made a *dágaba* of solid gold, and he erected the round-house built of stone, and the Niṣṣaṅka Flower-scroll Palace, and the Niṣṣaṅka Palace of the Tooth, and distributed vast wealth in alms and offerings ; hoping that future kings will not interfere with the many villages, lands, and slaves which he dedicated. He considered that it is the Law which contains the very essence of this life, and can ensure happiness and love both in this life and the next. May future kings think the same ! These are the virtuous sentiments of King Káliṅga Lakindu Nisaka.

(Notes.)

This *sannas* is particularly well preserved, and still in position. My own impression is that the porch on which it

stands is a later addition, by Niṣṣaṅka Malla, to the Heṭa Dāgé. It is in a much more florid style, and is not necessary architecturally.

S'rih Dharmassoyam *Nissanka Malla*. This *śloka* also commences the "*Galpota*." (See Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 128.)

A'kāsachāri I take to be an honorific epithet, like *Chakrawartin*, although Dr. Müller translates it literally. The power of flying through the air implied in it is, according to the ethics of Buddhism, "possessed by all birds and *dévas*, by some men, and by some *yakás*."*

Wahal saruk pamunu parapuraen. The last two words are left untranslated by Dr. Müller.† I imagine the modern equivalent to be *renat aniaen prasan saniuru tanaturu*, and have translated accordingly: but I should be very glad to be corrected if I am wrong.

Kaetiada means, I fancy, all such grains as are cultivated with the *keṭi*, i. e., all chena produce.

[*Divanda*] *yudha senā yudha*. The same phrase occurs in the "*Galpota*:" therefore we may safely supply the word *divanda*, which, in the present inscription, is virtually illegible.

Ran aengili. This phrase also occurs in the "*Galpota*," but is not translated by Dr. Müller.‡ I suppose it means "gold rings."

Sarbhāṅga sundarin, literally, "the incomparable beauty."

Silamāya wata geya. This I take to be the Waṭa Dāgé, which we know from the inscription on it was built by Niṣṣaṅka Malla. Dr. Müller has committed a curious mistake in calling this inscription "the frieze round the Thūpārāma."§ The Thūpārāma bears no external inscription, and the newly-discovered one inside does not refer to it. The inscription he refers to is round the northern entrance to the Waṭa Dāgé.

Nissanka latā mandapaya. This, we now know (see

* Spence Hardy: "Manual of Buddhism," p. 523. † Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

‡ *Id.*, pp. 98 (17), 131.

§ *Id.*, pp. 65, 93, 128.

page 68, Inscription 7) is the building to the west of the Heṭa Dágé.

Nissanka daladá geya. This may be the building known as the Daladá Máligáwa at the present day ; but I do not think so, as that building appears to me to be in a far purer and simpler style than Niṣṣanka Malla admired.

Werawaesun. I am not at all sure about the translation of this word.

3.—*Inscription on the series of Slabs on the right of the Inner Entrance to the Heṭa Dágé.*

(Text.)

Sri Sinha Wikramaeti Sri Sinha pureswara Lankeswara Kalinga Chakrawartin wahansé raja siri paemini dewana hawurudu patan Lankawa sisara gam niam gam raja dháni ádiwu noyek prasidha sthána.....samanola ádiwú giri durggada at ambulu pakakse balá wadára gaeniyek nawaratna piru karanduak genayé numut télé kumak dayi no kiana niyáyen rajeya nistkantaka kotae semehi tabá purgwa rajeyan sat awurudu sat masekin nangwu maligawa balá wadára apasewu rajakenekun nanguru maligawé hinda wédáyi pansalis dawasak atulehi sat mahal maligawa kudu nangwa porabalana paridden anarga mandapaya kudu naṇwá aetpora balá tarada káhára sáláwa atuluwu tun ásanaya kudu naṇwá mehi wásal paura ádiwu taenda karawá silamaya kotae sandi mandapaya boho kalak pawatna niyáyen mese kalingody anaya diwia bhawanayakse karawá Kálinga Wéga Karnatta Gujara ádiwu noyek désayen bisowarunda genwá antaḥpuré-yehi wena wenama noyek lesa maligáda naṇwa bohó saṇpat da dí wadára tun rajayehi noyek tanhi máligáda satrada naṇwá ananta jajakayanta ran walan ridi walandin ichchá bhójanaya kotae mesé tun rajaya noyek paridden balá wadárana kalae gauda niáta kota Nissanka gauyai taem hinduwa akuru kotawá Kálinga Subhadra bisowun wahanse ha Kalyana maha déwin wahanse ha maha pánaṇ wahanse ha Wikrama Báhu cepanaṇ wahanse ha Chandra bisowun

wahanse ha Parbatti wahanse ha Sarwanga Sundarin wahanse atuluwu atadena wahanse tulá bhára noegi hawurudupatá melesadí pera nobadá ayagena drastakala Lankáwásayintá ran walan ridi walan ádiwu bohó sampat da dí wadála danata jiwika hein walkotá gatten ayada mahá wae táninta piamburu watada haema kalatamae no gan.

(Translation.)

His Illustrious Majesty Sig̃ha Wikramēti Śrī Sig̃ha Pureswara Lak̃keswara Kālinga Chakrawartī, after he had reigned two years, made a royal progress throughout Lak̃kā, inspecting the villages, fortified villages, towns, &c., and several places of note Adam's Peak, &c., and the rock fortresses (having them before him), like a ripe neli fruit in his hand. He united into one kingdom, and brought peace to Lak̃kā, so that a woman, though she carried a casket containing the nine gems, would not be asked, What is it? He saw a palace which a former king had erected in seven years and seven months; (and thinking) "a king of our renown should live in a palace worthy of us," he erected within forty-five days a palace of seven stories. He erected an admirable building from which to watch the fights of wild beasts, and he watched the elephant fights (from it). Together with the banqueting hall he erected three thrones, and furnished these palaces with gates, ramparts, &c. Having built the hall of beautiful stone work as a lasting memorial, he in this manner made the royal garden of Kālinga like the residence of a god. He got him queens from many places, from Kālinga, Wega, Karṇāṭa, Gujara, &c. In the harem he built several palaces of various kinds, and expended much treasure. In the three kingdoms he built palaces and almshouses at several places; to numberless beggars he gave the food which they like in vessels of gold and silver. In this manner he thoroughly inspected the three kingdoms; and he prepared mileposts, and calling them Niṣṣaṅkā's mileposts, he fixed them in their places and inscribed them. He, together with Her Highness the Queen Subhadrá of

Káliṅga, Her Majesty the Queen Kalyāṇa, His Highness the Viceroy, His Highness the Crown Prince Wikrama Báhu, Her Highness the Queen Chandra, Her Highness Parvattí, and Her Highness Sarwāṅga Sundarin, eight persons in all, took the vows of the scales, and every year gave alms in this manner. To the inhabitants of Laṅká, who were impoverished by the taxes collected by former (kings) without restraint, he gave gold and silver and much wealth.

(Notes.)

This inscription is in very fair preservation. It was found, like the preceding one, when the Heṭṭa Dágé was thoroughly excavated. The king Niṣṣaṅka Malla adopts yet another style at the commencement: but there is no doubt about his identity. The first four lines are identical with the inscription at Wandarupa viháre, seven miles from Hambantota.*

Rāja siri ... patan. I translate this slightly differently from Dr. Müller who, however, had not the advantage of the full text.

Prasiddha sthāna ādiwá. The illegible words here may be supplied from the inscription at Wandarupa vihára. The text would then run:—*Prasiddha sthāna há jaladurgga paṅka durgga wanadurgga Samanoḷa ādiwá.*

At ambulu pakakse balá. The simile is apparently based on the clearness and transparency of the ripe *nelli* fruit.

Goeniyek no kiana niyáyen. This phrase occurs, slightly altered, in Niṣṣaṅka Malla's inscription at Dambulla.† Nor are such boasts confined to Eastern kings. The obviously similar legend embodied in "rich and rare were the gems she wore" will occur to every one; and in the seventh century A.D. we learn from Boëda's History that it was the boast of Eadwine, king of Northumbria, that a woman with her babe might walk scatheless from sea to sea in his day.

Purgwa raje balá wadárá. This may possibly refer

* Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 135.

† *Id.*, p. 91 (13).

to his predecessor, Parákrama Báhu the Great, who, we are told in the “Maháwaṃso” (ch. LXXII.), built a palace seven stories high, containing four thousand rooms, with hundreds of stone columns.

Porabalana paridden aet porabalá. No trace of this building has been found yet; but it is the only mention, so far as I know, of this un-Buddhistical custom, and is therefore extremely interesting.

Tarada káhára sáláwa. I have translated this as “banqueting hall” with some hesitation.

Kálinga, Wéga, Karnatta, Gujara, ádiwa. I cannot guess where “Wéga” is, and know of no other reference to it: but I have little doubt that “Karnatta” and “Gujara” are the Karnatic and Guzerat. The latter was probably then devoted partly to Buddhism and partly to Jainism, but it must have been very shortly after this date that its inhabitants adopted the worship of Vishnu, which in its turn very quickly gave place to the Sivite cult.

Ran walan ridi walandin. The word *walan* is strangely translated in several places by Drs. Müller and Goldschmidt as “bracelets,” as though it were the plural of *walalla*. In the first place, this is grammatically improbable: nor would a gold bracelet be a peculiarly appropriate gift for a beggar. I think this passage settles the matter. It is hardly probable that the king gave food to beggars in bracelets of gold: but if we give to *walan-walandin* the natural meaning of “vessels,” “bowls,” the sense is clear and the grammar correct. It was quite in keeping with Oriental ideas of magnificence for the king to feed his almsmen out of vessels of gold and silver.

Gauda niáta kota ... kotawá. This is an interesting fact, and surely says a good deal in favour of Niṣṣaṅka Malla's domestic policy.

Kálinga Subhudra bisowun wahanse. This queen is mentioned in the “Galpotu” inscription, but is there called *Mahá Déwin wahanse*.

I have not translated the last three lines of the inscription.

They are obscure, and the sentence is unfinished, though there is plenty of room for more lettering.

4.—*Inscription on the newly-discovered Stone Pillar to the east of the Vishnu Déwale.*

(Text.)

Sri Kálinga Lakeshwara Parákrama Báhu Wira Raja Niṣṣanka Malla Apratimala Chakrawartin wahanse boho yajakayanta dan denu kaemaetiwaē dakunu digin Kamboja wasala ha uturu digin dawasei wána ha agala haema kota naegena hirin sīmápawra ha basna hirin Niṣṣanka samudreya himi kotae. Meki satara himin atulehi úyanakkarawá sátro dhyánayayai nam tabá Niṣṣanka dána winoda mandapaya pawra atulehi gas kola pitat wae tesu tan satra santaka kotae. Me úyanaē paluphala satréyen daneya ganna yajakayanta mae ganut an kenekun tamanta anubhawayata wat tesu pariddekin yamma wiadamakata wat nogannáma sandahá sitá léka kelé. Satruyen pita tésuyamma leseka mein sāká-mátreyaka tamátaga wéwáyī anunta dun wéwáyī kawudu balu wuwawwuáyī kabal gat at aeti yajakayan ha samayóyi.

(Beneath the last line is a drawing of a crow and under it a drawing of a dog.)

(Translation.)

His Illustrious Majesty Kálinga Lakshwara Parákrama Báhu Wírarāja Niṣṣanka Malla Apratimala Chakrawarti was pleased to confer a boon on many beggars. He erected an almshouse and gave it the name of Niṣṣanka's almshouse throughout the three kingdoms, and was pleased to bestow ripe and unripe fruit of charity on such beggars as received alms from it. The boundary on the south was the Kámboja gate; on the north the stone wána together with the whole of the moat; on the east the boundary wall [of the city]; on the west the whole of Niṣṣanka's ocean [*i.e.*, Topáwewa]. He made a royal garden within these four boundaries, and called it the royal garden of the almshouse; with the

exception of the trees, &c., which are within the rampart of the *Niṣṣaṅka Dāna Winoda mandapaya* the rest of the land he made to belong to the almshouse. With the exception of such beggars as receive alms from the almshouse, [namely] ripe and unripe fruit of charity, no one else is to take [such produce], whether for his own consumption or for any pecuniary motive; and to ensure this, he erected this stone inscription. Any stranger of any sort, not mentioned in the proclamation, who shall take for himself or give to others even the smallest twig from it, shall be likened to dogs and crows, and shall be classed with beggars who go about with earthen bowls in their hands [*i.e.*, “unattached” beggars of the lowest grade].

(Notes.)

This inscription is in excellent preservation, as it was almost completely buried in earth. It is to the east of the so-called Vishṇu Dēwāle.

Kamboja wāsala.—This is perhaps the most interesting allusion in all the new inscriptions. I append the passage from Fergusson's “History of Architecture,” which appears to me to lend it especial importance:—

The first assertion in the traditions of the Cambodians is sufficiently startling. “In the country of Rome, or Romaveise, not far from Takkhasinla (Taxila), reigned a great and wise king. His son, the vice-king,—Phra Thong by name,—having done wrong, was banished, and after many adventures settled in Cambodia,” &c. The time is not indicated, but we gather from the context that it must have been about the fourth century. It may at first sight look like catching at a nominal similarity, but the troubles which took place in Cashmere in the reign of Tungina, and generally in Western India about the year 319, look so like what is recorded further east, that at present that seems the most probable date for the migration, assuming it to have taken place. Many would be inclined to doubt the possibility of any communication between the two countries; but it must be borne in mind that the country around Taxila in ancient times was called Kamboja; that it was the headquarters of serpent worship; that the architecture of Cashmere bears every considerable resemblance to that

of Cambodia; while there is a general consent that the Cambodians came from India. If this were so, it seems certain that it was not from the east coast that they migrated. As pointed out above, it seems certain that the Indians who introduced Buddhism and Buddhist architecture into Java certainly went from Guzerat, or the countries on the west coast. This seems undoubted, and there is no greater improbability of a migration from the Indus to Cambodia than of one from Guzerat to Java. Ceylon was always addicted to snake-worship, and may have formed a halfway house. On the other hand, it is by no means improbable that the communication may have taken place behind the Himalayas..... All this will require careful elaboration hereafter.

Now, there are four facts which appear to me to throw light on this problem, and to make it more than probable that Ceylon was the "halfway house" which Fergusson suspects it may have been.

(1) The fact is elicited from this inscription that one of the city gates of Polonnaruwa was called "the Kamboja gate:" possibly, surely, from its being situated on the side from which the exiles entered, or by which the emigrants left?

(2) A curious fact is mentioned in Niṣṣaṅka Malla's inscription at the Ruwanwēli Dāgaba, Anurādhapura, viz., that when that king visited the famous shrine, he not only gave security (*abhayaḍi*) to all animals within seven *gaw* of it, and to the fish in the twelve large tanks, but he also gave security to the birds in the following manner: he presented the Kambodians with gold, cloth, and other acceptable gifts, and ordered them not to kill birds! Dr. Müller makes no comment whatever on this passage, which is either a very strange omission, or else shows that the matter was too well known to archæologists to require explanation. I am unable even to guess why the Kambodians should have been specially addicted to killing birds. Perhaps a better acquaintance with Kashmir or Kambodia might throw some light on this; but there can be no doubt that here is a second allusion to the people—as residents of Anurādhapura—who gave their name to one of the gates of Pulastipura.

(3) Not only was "Ceylon always addicted to snake-worship," but there is evidence to show that in Polonnaruwa there were actual "Snake Temples." The Naipena Vihāre, which is near the Rankot Dágaba, is an undoubted "Nāga Kóvil," or possibly a pair of temples; and near it there is another building of a similar intent.

(4) The Hindúism of Polonnaruwa appears to have been almost entirely Vishṇuvite. I know of no direct evidence of the presence of the Sivite creed; while, on the other hand, two stone temples have been discovered this month with undoubted statues of Vishṇu actually inside them. This is exclusive of the well-known (and very beautiful) Vishṇu *Déwálé* to the east of the main road. Now, the Vishṇuvite creed is precisely that side of Hindúism (to quote Mr. Fergusson again) "which picked up the serpent-worship which the Buddhists had rejected."

Without wishing to press these arguments too strongly, I think we may safely say that this is a line of inquiry which deserves further investigation.

But to return to the inscription under consideration.

Agala haema kota.—The moat which surrounded the principal part of the city. This, after recent clearing, is now plainly apparent.

Simá pawra.—The city wall, running along the bund of the moat. A very good piece of this wall has been discovered by the Disáwa.

Niṣṣanka samudreya, i.e., Tópáwewa.—Compare the "Sea of Parákrama."

Niṣṣanka dána winoda maṇḍapaya.—This has been discovered. (See Inscription No. 9.)

The last three lines of the inscription are illustrated in sculpture at the base of the inscription, which terminates with two well-executed figures of a crow and a dog.

6.—*Inscription on a broken slab near the new
Vishnu Déwálé.*

(Note.)

This is the only inscription of which three separate copies have been found. It relates to the question of succession to the throne, about which Niṣṣaṅka Malla was evidently very anxious. Like the preceding inscription, it terminates with sculptured figures illustrative of the last few lines. There are two rows of figures represented: in the upper row are the *haṇṣa*, the lion, the horse, the elephant, the cobra, and the sun; in the lower row are their low-caste equivalents: the crow, the jackal, the donkey, the snipe, the worm, and the firefly. The meaning of this is sufficiently apparent.

7.—*Inscription on fragments of Inner Stone Frieze of the
Niṣṣaṅka Latá Maṇḍapaya.*

(Text.)

..... ruan ha gunen mitra santana kotae mitra santana
nekae mattawunta taman wahanségé sau

..... yehidi tutábhára naegi no ek desa wasayinta no ek
wastu tiaga kotae e taenhi boho kalak pawatna paridden

..... ha Lankeṣwara Parákrama Bahu Chakrawartti swamin
wahanse Nissanka Malla wiruduwaṭa sudusu baewin Soli
Pándi ádiwu raja daruan ha yuddhayata sarasunu kal hi
Lak Wijaya Sinha Senawita wuru nawan wahanse
bisowarun ha aetun asun

..... waedae karawá wadáladá waedae wadárana Nissanka
latá maṇḍapaya.

(Translation.)

..... and gold, having done favours out of kindness to the
others who were unfriendly, His Majesty's

..... having performed the vow of the scales, having spent
much money on gifts to the inhabitants of many places, in
order that it might last for a long time in that place

His Majesty, the overlord Laṅkeswara Parākrama Báhu Chakrawarti, because he was fitted for warfare, when the kings of Sôli, Pāṇḍi, &c., were arrayed for battle, His Excellency the General Lak Wijaya Siṅha and the queens, elephants, horses

..... having accomplished and given, this is the Niṣṣaṅka Hall of the Flower-scroll in which he rested.

(Notes.)

Considering how this inscription has been knocked about, we are very lucky to have got the two fragments which give us the name of the king and of the building. We have so many inscriptions of Niṣṣaṅka Malla, and this one appears to have been so very like several of the others, that perhaps we may bear with equanimity the loss of the body of its contents; but it was evidently the most highly decorated of all, and it is a pity that more of the scroll and flower pattern is not left, as such as there is of it is admirably executed.

The building in which it stands is extremely curious, for it appears to be an attempt at reviving in its original form the old Buddhist architectural peculiarities—the stone “post and rail.” The best known (and, according to Fergusson, the only) built example of this stone fence is at the Saneli Tope: but there it is on a very much larger scale, and moreover the posts there supported a plain architrave, which is not the case at Polonnaruwa. This building is referred to in many of Niṣṣaṅka’s inscriptions. Although it has been terribly broken, two of the posts with their rails still remain standing. It is noticeable that neither posts nor rails bear any kind of ornament. In India, after the design became purely ornamental, it was decorated with displayed lotuses in increasing profusion.

The external measurements of the building are 29 ft. 4 in. from north to south by 35 ft. from east to west. The posts measure 5 ft. 5 in. in height (including the slight capital) by 8 in. by 8½ in. The rails are 3 ft. 2 in. long by 7½ in.

by 6 in. The two upper ones are 6 in. apart: the lower one is $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the ground. The upper rail is 1 ft. 3 in. below the top of the pillar.

8.—*Inscription on each of the Pillars of the Niṣṣaṅka Latā Maṇḍapaya.*

(Text.)

Mitrayin lōka sāsana sanahā loka wasayinta punyakshépa kota asana niā latā mandapayai.

(Translation.)

This is the Hall of the Flower-scroll (built) as a resting-place, out of benevolence, for the sake of the world and of religion, that the inhabitants of the world may partake in the merit.

(Notes.)

This is on one of the six tall pillars which supported the roof of the inner enclosure of the *Niṣṣaṅka Latā Maṇḍapaya*. The shape of these pillars is very curious and unique, and it is a great pity they are all broken. A very similar pillar has, however, been found entire near the *Sat Mahal Prasāda*, and put into position. It will be photographed this month.

The *Niṣṣaṅka Latā Maṇḍapaya* is mentioned in the "*Galpota*" inscription, but the language is obscure, and I do not feel quite sure that Dr. Müller's translation gives the exact meaning, though I hesitate to correct it.*

9.—*Inscription on a broken pillar of the Niṣṣaṅka Dāna Maṇḍapaya.*

(Text.)

Śri Nissanka Malla Kālinga Parākrama Bahu Chakrawartti swamīn wahanse Dambadiwa no ek desayen ā paradésayinta swadesayinta (dijita?) waeda hinda dan dewā wadārana Nissanka dāna winóda mandapayai.

* Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 131.

(Translation.)

This is the Niṣṣaṅka Hall of Almsgiving, in which His Illustrious Majesty Niṣṣaṅka Malla Kālinga Parākrama Bāhu Chakkrawartti sat when he gave bounties to foreigners who came from several countries in Dambadiwa and to the inhabitants of his own country.

(Notes.)

This large building—the *Niṣṣaṅka Dāna Winōda Mandapaya*—was found by my exploring party early in March. Every one of the very large pillars which supported the roof is broken, but we were fortunate enough to find, in the jungle close by, the upper fragment of one of them, which bears this inscription, and thus identifies the building. If this is the only pillar which was inscribed—and it is hardly likely that they were all inscribed—the find was peculiarly lucky. This building is referred to in the "*Galpota*" inscription in these terms: "In order to witness in person the rejoicings of the mendicants who received presents, he built another almshouse which he called the *Niṣṣaṅka Dāna Mandapa*."*

10.—*Inscription on two fragments of slabs.*

(Notes.)

These pieces are too fragmentary to be of any use. One piece is set in (apparently at a later date) to the floor of the outer shrine of the *Vishṇu Déwālé*; the other is loose.

11.—*Inscription on large upright stone slab between the Heṭṭa Dágé and the Rankot Dágaba.*

(Text.)

(First eight lines illegible.)

..... Kālinga Chakkrawarttin wahanségé wanséyehi upan
Sinha Bahu rajayan wahanseta jreysta putrawu Kalingayen

* Muller, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

Lankáwata baesa yassappraleya kota manusiya wása kota ékátá patra rajeyakala Wijaya rajeyan wahanségé wansa daramparáyen á Lakdiwa éka rajeya kala Parákrama Bahu pit himiyánan wahanse rajawa wanseya mattatada pawatná kaemaetiwa purgwa rajeyan kota á paridden mae Sinhapureyata yawá beananuwan wahansegenwa tamanwahanse naemula hitidí pata bandawá saestreyehi nipuna karawá acti kota wadár á rájeya sanátha kaláturen swuregusthawu kal hi mema kramayen abhisurkta wu Wijeya Bahu wahanseta paeraedae duskamarttiyayan raja drohi wae Lankáwata kala wilupat sádhá Wijayá yán taen náwatsetehi tabá dun rajayehi himiyánan wahanse abhisikta wae saha wotunu ambaranin saedi sinhásaná rudhawa daskankalawunta abhiwurdhi wuwa maenawéyi sitá wadárá Wijayá yún taennáwan ruau dam wuyehi patan sri saeríra raksáyehi siti hénut pera pariddenma Kálinga paramparáwata rajeya sádhádun séyinut me kunge wansa paramparáwada. Wijaya rajayan wahanse keré patan Kalinga wanseyatama duskamkota a héyinut me kala duskamata tu.

(Translation.)

(First eight lines illegible.)

..... form of the Illustrious Kálinga Chakrawarti race, the eldest son of the king Siyha Báhu, having come from Kálinga to Lapká, and conquered the Yakkhus, and made it habitable for man, and brought the kingdom under one umbrella (sceptre); descending in the direct line from the race of the illustrious Wijaya Rája, having made the island of Lapká into one kingdom, his revered Majesty Parákrama Báhu wished to perpetuate the royal race. After the manner of former kings, he sent to Siyhapura and fetched his nephew, and during his own lifetime decked him with the fillet (of royalty), instructed him in the science of war, and adopted him. After the kingdom had been firmly established at the time that (Parakrama Báhu) died, (there arose) wicked ministers who were traitors to His Majesty Wijaya Báhu—who had been anointed king in the same

manner (as his predecessor)—and created disturbances in Laṅka. (The king) took into his favour His Excellency Wijayá Yán, and in the kingdom which he gave His Majesty was anointed and crowned, was invested with the royal ornaments, and ascended the lion-throne. Considering that it is right to show favour to the faithful, and since His Excellency Wijayá Yán, from the time of his investiture with the gold chain and thread, had protected the royal person, and since he confirmed the kingdom in the possession of the Kálinga family, (who had it) from days of yore, and since his race and family had been faithful to the Kálinga race from the time of king Wijaya—in return for this fidelity

(Notes.)

This is probably the most valuable find of all, as, to whatever king it belongs, it certainly belongs to a king of whom no other similar record exists at present. I am inclined, on the whole, to ascribe to it an earlier date than Niṣṣaṅka Malla, and to take the allusions as referring to Parákrama Báhu the Great and his nephew Wijaya Báhu (the second), who succeeded him, the latter being the author of the inscription. (See "Maháwaṃso," ch. 80.) It is just possible, however, that another Wijaya Báhu, of later date, may be referred to, who began to reign at Dambadeniya, but subsequently conquered Polonnaruwa from the Tamils. I am told that there are conclusive references not only to this Wijaya Báhu, but also to his general Wijayá Yán, in the "Pújáwaliya." I am having the reference searched for, and should it be conclusive, I will communicate a further note on the subject. It is a great pity that only one side of this inscription is legible, but I have still some hopes of part at least of the other side, for the lichen with which it was densely covered in the dry weather when I was there, is said to disappear partially towards the end of the rainy season from similar stones; and there is a man on the spot who will be able to send me an accurate copy of so much as becomes

legible. The last six lines of the illegible side appear to be in a different lettering.

12.—*Inscription on several fragments of slabs which formed part of the wall of the Inner Shrine of the*
Heṭṭa Dāgē.

(Text.)

Sri Siri Saṅgha Bó Wira Rāja Niṣṣaṅka Malla Kālinga
 Parākrama Báhu Chakrawarttin wahanse Budu sasun
 paswadahas pawatna sandahá sardhá buddhi pungwangama
 wae supilipaen maha sangayá wahanse dharmma winoya wu
 paridden purana piliwet.

(Translation.)

His Majesty Saṅgha Bó Wira Rāja Niṣṣaṅka Malla Kālinga
 Parākrama Báhu Chakrawarti was pre-eminent for faith
 and conviction that the religion of Buddha would last five
 thousand years; the illustrious purity of the great priest-
 hood (having made?) ancient rules in connection with the
 doctrine and the law.

(Notes.)

It is quite possible that a Sanskrit scholar would be able to make out a few more words from the inscription than I have given. A great many Sanskrit words are evidently introduced into the succeeding lines, but I was unable even to guess at them. It was impossible to take a "squeeze" of the inscription owing to its extremely fragmentary condition.

APPENDIX.

NOTE BY MR. T. BERWICK.

IN his "A Year's Work at Polonnaruwa" Mr. Burrows discusses a supposed difficulty in the interpretation of the words *Gaṅga-vaṇṇa*, which occur in the name of the queen of Nissaṅka Malla inscribed on the "Galpota" as *Gaṅga-vaṇṇa Kalyāṇa Mahā Dewin Wahanse*; and he endeavours to solve the question by the theory that the word transliterated *gaṅga* is really *gaha*, and that *Gaṅga-vaṇṇa* would stand for *Gowi-vaṇṇa*, or "the Wellāla caste."

Having looked into the matter since the Paper was read before the Royal Asiatic Society, I think there is no real difficulty in the interpretation, and every reason for believing that Dr. Müller and the local Pandit referred to by Mr. Burrows were right in reading the word as *gaṅga*. It is notorious enough that the Indian sovereigns of Ceylon were in the practice of getting their queens from India, and from the ancient and royal dynasties there, one of the most ancient and renowned of which was the *Gaṅga* dynasty, house, or *vaṇṇa*. The country called (*Kongu-desa*, the heart of which lay in what are now the districts of Salem and Coimbatore), had, during many ages, an important place in the political geography of South India, and "we have a very definite account of a long dynasty of Ganga, or Kongu, kings" who reigned over it—a dynasty which, "on the authority of the Markāra copper plates, has been believed to have lasted from the beginning of the Christian era down to the year 894 A.D., about which time it was overthrown by the Cholas." It has been said, indeed, that these plates are forgeries, and that the first king of the *true* *Gaṅga* dynasty Kongani-varma Raya I., or Madhava I., "of the Kanvāyana family, and of the Jāhnavi or Gangā race," ruled there only from about the beginning of the 10th century. But it appears from independent sources that a Kadamba king, Mrigesa-varma, achieved a conquest over the "Gangas" in the 5th or 6th century, and a list of twenty-one *Gaṅga* kings of *Kongu-desa*, including and subsequent to Madhava I., is given in the "*Kongu-desa Rājākkal*."

A considerable time after the final conquest of the *Kongu-desa* in 1080 A.D., another line of *Gaṅga* kings ruled over Orissa. This

Gaṅga-vaṇṣa dynasty was established there in 1132 A.D., by Chorganga (who "certainly came from the south"), and continued to rule Orissa till the last of that *Gaṅga-vaṇṣa* line (Kantharuya Deva) was assassinated in 1534 A.D. And—bearing even more strongly on the present question—there was yet another line of the *Gaṅga-vaṇṣa* which governed *Kāliṅga*, south of Orissa and north of the Godavery, apparently from an unknown antiquity, and which after a long eclipse refleurished towards the end of the 10th century.

The foregoing particulars as to dates, &c., are taken from Sewell's "Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India," under the titles "Kongu or Gaṅga Kings," "Orissa Kings," "Kalinga," and "Kadumbas."

Now, Niṣṣaṅka Malla tells us in inscription No. 2 that he was himself born at Sighapura in the *Kāliṅga* country, of illustrious parents, whom he names; and it is therefore not surprising that one of his queens should have been a lady of the ancient and illustrious *Gaṅga-vaṇṣa*: nor that both of them should have been proud of her descent.

This race has links of association with Ceylon of more importance than the mere fact of having given a queen to one of its sovereigns. It was the third (or an early) king of that line in Orissa who, in 1174 A.D. (almost synchronous with the erection of the chief works at Polonnaruwa), built the great temple of Juganāt in Puri, the sacred *Dantapura*, the city in which till 319 A.D. was treasured the great relic which has been so bound up with the history and fortunes of Ceylon, and a temple which derives the origin and sanctity from a Brahmanical and Vishnuvite distortion of the story of the Tooth. Had the Burmese or Arracanese invaders of Orissa been as successful in their attempt to capture the relic as they were in supplanting a dynasty and in holding the country for one hundred and fifty years, Ceylon itself would have had a very different history and fame. Anyhow, it was to consecrate and perpetuate a gross distortion of the story of the *palladium* of Ceylon that a *Gaṅga-vaṇṣa* prince built at Jaganāt one of the most famous temples in the world.

Perhaps, too, it is owing to the connection of its sovereigns with the race of the *Gaṅga-vaṇṣa*—those devoted followers of Vishnu, who in Orissa, superseded the Kesari-vansi and the worship of Siva—that Mr. Burrows has to tell us that he finds the Hinduism of Polonnaruwa to show little or no indication of Sivaism. It was just when the *Gaṅga-vaṇṣa* and Vishnavism were dominant in the native land of the sovereigns of Ceylon, and when Juganāt was being built, to

signalise the double triumph, that the Hindu Parákrama Báhus were adorning Polonnaruwa.

ADDENDUM.

1. General Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India" (p. 517 and map, p. 526), places *Dantapura* on the Godavery, thirty miles north-east of Koringa, at Raja Mahendri, the present Rajamundry; but Fergusson has since identified it with *Puri*.^o

2. That *Sihapura* in *Káliṅga*, the birthplace of *Nisṣaṅka Malla*, was actually under the sway of the *Gaṅga-raṇṣa* of Orissa during his time, may be collected from Stirling's "Account of Orissa" in volume 15 of the "Asiatic Researches." The town of *Sihapura*, or at least the town in *Káliṅga* which retains that name, is situated in the hill country of the eastern Ghats, on the bank of the *Nagavelly*, some eighty miles from where that river forms an estuary of the sea at *Chicacole*, which is about fifteen miles west of *Káliṅgapatam*. And the epoch of the Parákrama Báhus of Polonnaruwa was 1153-1186 A.D. Now, Stirling tells us (page 164) that "during the sway of the princes of the *Gaṅga-raṇṣa* line, for a period of nearly four centuries (from 1132 A.D. onwards), the boundaries of the Raj of Orissa" extended on the south to "the Godaveri, or *Ganga Godaveri*," and on the west to "a line drawn through *Sinhburu*, *Sonepur*, and *Bastar*," and, therefore, they included *Sihapura*. Again, *Raja Anang Bhun Dea*, one of the most illustrious of the *Gaṅga-raṇṣa* line, ascended the throne of the *Gajapatis*, 1174 A.D.

It was he who commenced the great temple of *Jaganát* in the twelfth year of his reign, and completed it in 1196 A.D. In his speech to the assembled nobles he is recorded as having stated his additions to the Raj to have extended on the south "from the *Rassikoilah* down to the *Dandpat* of *Rajinandri*," and on the west "to the confines of *Boad* (*Bodh*) *Sonepur*." (*Ibid*, pp. 269-71.)

3. Light is thrown on the origin of the title *Gaṅga-raṇṣa* by the following passage:—"This personage [*Chor Gaṅga*, or *Churang Deo*], whatever his real origin, is fabled to have been the offspring of the goddess *Ganga Sana*, or the lesser *Ganges* (*Godaveri*), by a form of *Maha Deo*. With him [in 1132 A.D.] began the race of princes called the *Ganga-Vansa*, or *Gangban's* line, who ruled the country for about four centuries, a period fertile in great names and events of importance, and which forms unquestionably the most brilliant and interesting portion of Orissa history." (*Ibid*, p. 267.)

NOTE BY MR. W. P. RANASINHA.

In the "Mahawamsa" we do not find a king of Ceylon by the name of Niṣṣaṅka Malla. He is called there Kirti Niṣṣaṅka, and is said to have been a prince of the Kāliṅga race, who reigned nine years, from 1200 to 1209 A.D. His works are highly but laconically spoken of by the historian.

It is only from his numerous inscriptions that we learn who his parents were, the names of his queens, and a detailed account of his numerous works.

In the "Galpota" (stone book) he is said to have weighed himself, his chief queens Kāliṅga Subhadrā Mahā Dévi and Gaṅga-vaṇṣa Kalyāṇa Mahā Dévi, his son, and his daughter in a balance every year, and to have distributed five times their weight in alms amongst the priests, the Brahmanas, the blind, the lame, and other destitute and friendless people.

Mr. Burrows, in his Paper read at the Royal Asiatic Society's Meeting, says *Gaṅga-vaṇṣa* is a mistake. It would mean, says he, the Dhoby caste or the Paduwa caste. He therefore suggests *Gaha-vaṇṣa*. With due deference to Mr. Burrows, I think otherwise. *Gaha-vaṇṣa* would mean "the Tree-race," from *gaha*, "tree," and *vaṇṣa*, "race"; or House-race, from *gaha* (Sanskrit *griha*), a house.

It appears from the same inscription that Niṣṣaṅka Malla sent an embassy to the Kāliṅga country, and caused many princesses of the Sôma (Lunar) and Sûrya (Solar) races to be brought hither. One of his queens, Kāliṅga Subhadrā Mahā Dévi, may have come from Kāliṅga the Northern Circars. The name *Kāliṅga*, which the king himself bore, seems to warrant such a conclusion.

The question is whether the name *Gaṅga-vaṇṣa Kalyāṇa Mahā Dévi*, as it appears in the inscription, is correct or incorrect.

In this investigation it is necessary to understand what *Gaṅga* really means.

In the "Vishnu Purana," page 169, it is said that the "capital of Brahma is enclosed by the river Gaṅgā, which, issuing from the foot of Vishnu and washing the lunar orb, falls here from the skies." According to the "Rāmāyaṇa," the Gaṅgā came down from the sky at the prayer of Bhagiratha, but lest it should destroy the earth by the shock, he, on the advice of Vishnu, prayed Siva to receive it on his head, and then to let it fall gently on the earth; and it was thus allowed to come

down in streamlets after many austerities had been performed by Bhagiratha.*

In the renowned Sanskrit vocabulary, "Amarakosha," the common names for rivers are given as *Nadi*, *Sarit*, *Tarangine*, &c., and various rivers are mentioned by name. The first is *Gaṅgā*. Its synonyms are also given, such as *Vishnu podé*, in allusion to the myth that it issues from the foot of Vishnu; *Bhāgirathi*, in allusion to its coming down from the skies, by virtue of the austerities performed by Bhagiratha.

In the Pāli vocabulary, "Abhidhānappadīpikā," the names of five large rivers are mentioned, namely, *Gaṅgā*, *Achiravati*, *Yamunā*, *Sarabhū*, and *Mahā*.

The common names for rivers as given there are *Sarantī*, *Ninnagā*, *Sindhā*, *Saritā*, *Apagā*, and *Nadi*. One synonym for the river *Gaṅgā* is given there, and that is *Bhāgirathi*.

Monier Williams, in his "Sanskrit Dictionary," says "*Gaṅgā* (said to be from the root *gam*, 'to go'), the river Ganges—the Ganges personified and considered as the eldest daughter of Himavat and Manā, and wife of Sāntanu and mother of Bhīṣma, or as one of the wives of Dharma. There is also a *Gaṅgā* in the sky, *Akasa Gaṅgā*, and one under the earth."

Professor Childers, in his "Pāli Dictionary," explains the word *Gaṅgā* thus: "(f) The river Ganges, the celestial river, the milky way; *Gaṅgeyyo* (adj.), belonging to the Ganges."

Hence it would appear that neither in Sanskrit nor in ancient Pāli works could the word *Gaṅgā* have been used as a synonym for *nadi*, "river." If one were to write in Sanskrit or Pāli *Yamunā-Gaṅgā*, it would not mean the river Yamunā, but the Yamunā and the Ganges. In the same way, *Achiravati-gaṅgā* would not mean the river Irrawaddy, but the Irrawaddy and the Ganges; for the simple reason that *Gaṅgā* is a proper name, and not a common name for a river. It is only in Ceylon that the words *gaṅgā* and *gaṅga*—which latter is a corruption of the former—are made to do duty as synonyms for *nadi*, "river." Hence we have in Ceylon the *Kēlani-gaṅga*, the river Kēlani; *Kaḷu-gaṅga*, "the black river"; *Mahaveli-gaṅga*, "the great sandy river." I concede that in modern Ceylon Pāli works written by Sinhalese who have made *gaṅgā* a common name for a river, it is erroneously used as a synonym for *nadi*; but this cannot affect the present question.

The sun and the moon were deified by the ancients, and we have in

the inscription referred to a Solar race and a Lunar race of kings. The river Ganges, as we have seen, was similarly deified, and it is very likely that there existed a royal race in the neighbourhood of the Ganges which went by the name of *Gaṅgā-vaṇṣa*, and that Niṣṣaṅka Malla's queen Kalyāṇa Mahā Dévi was one of them.

I do not see how *Gaṅgā-vaṇṣa* could be used for the Dhoby caste or the Paduwa caste, and Niṣṣaṅka Malla was too proud a prince to marry any one not of a royal race: for we read in his inscription at Daladā Mandirāva, in Polonnaruwa, the advice which he gave to his subjects, not to give the kingdom of Ceylon to Chola or Kerala, or princes of other countries which were non-Buddhistical. Not even the men of the "Govi tribe," says he, should be raised to the throne. In the absence of princes, he says, one of the queens should be chosen to the kingdom; some other caste may emulate the conduct of the kings, yet it certainly will not meet with respect, but only with ridicule. From this it is evident that this high-minded prince could not have married even one of the Govi tribe, much less a Dhoby or Paduwa caste woman.

Since writing the above I have found conclusive proof that there existed in India a dynasty which went by the name *Gaṅgā-vaṇṣa*. In Rajendralal Mitra's "Antiquities of Orissa" (ancient Odra), vol. I., page 4, the following passage occurs:—"Traces are not wanting to show that during the ascendancy of the *Gaṅgā-vaṇṣa* princes their kingdom embraced Gour on the one side and the whole, or at least a part, of Karnāṭa on the other." Again, at page 110, vol. II., he says: "Puru-shóttama Deva, who next to Ananga Bhéma was perhaps the most distinguished and successful prince of the *Gaṅgā-vaṇṣa* line, devoted much attention to the worship of the divinity, and called himself, like his predecessors, the 'Sweeper of the Sacred Temple.'"

Marshman, in his "History of India," says that the Kesari family obtained the throne of Orissa, and held it till 1131 A.D.: they were succeeded by the line of Gungu Bunsu [*Gaṅgā-vaṇṣa* according to Marshman's mode of spelling Indian words], who maintained their power till it was subverted by the Muhammadans in 1568.*

Balfour's "Cyclopædia of India," p. 256, contains the following:—"*Ganga-vansa*," or *Gugu patee* [i.e., *Gagapati*, meaning the chief of the Ganges], a dynasty that ruled in Orissa from about the twelfth century."

It would hence appear that Niṣṣaṅka Malla reigned in Ceylon at the time when the princes of *Gaṅgā-vaṇṣa* dynasty were holding the reins of

* Marshman, "History of India," page 23, third edition.

Government in Orissa—a country, according to Cuningham's "Ancient Geography of India," lying to the north of Kāliṅga; and *Gaṅga-varṣa Kalyāna Mahā Dēvi* was no doubt a princess of that line.

NOTE BY REV. S. COLES.

MR. BERWICK's article is a very satisfactory solution of Mr. Burrows' difficulty with regard to the Gaṅga dynasty, and is a step towards the confirmation of the hypothesis of Professor Oldenburg, that Pāli was a dialect of the Sanskrit, spoken, not in the basin of the Ganges, but in some districts in Central or Southern India where Buddhism was early established, and whence it was easily transferred to Ceylon in the Pāli language.

Howsoever that may have been, my object in writing this is briefly to show that the word *Gaṅga* is a generic and not a specific or proper name. It is almost certain that in Sanskrit, which was probably spoken only in the watershed of the Ganges, that the term *Gaṅga* practically was a proper name, as is customary among all riverside inhabitants throughout the world, who always speak of their river as "The River" without any further appellative. Besides, the fact that in Sanskrit works a celestial and a terrestrial *Gaṅga* are mentioned is a proof that the generic idea of *Gaṅga* was not unknown to those people.

In Buddhist works frequent mention is made of other rivers beside the Ganges under the term *Gaṅga*. In the "Savidhi Dīpaniya," in the Byangana Division, on the 64th page, seven *nadis* and five *gaṅgas* are mentioned. In the Commentary of the "Angotra Sangiya," the word *Gaṅga* is used between twenty and thirty times in connection with other rivers besides the Ganges. In the course of my reading I have frequently come across it in the Tipiṭaka books, where it has the generic signification.

It appears, therefore, that although the Sanskrit-speaking people of the Ganges valley used *nadi* as the generic and *gaṅga* generally as the specific name for "river," yet they also employed the latter in the general sense, as did also the other inhabitants of those parts of India where Pāli was spoken and Buddhism had been established.

NOTES BY B. GUṆASEKARA MUDALIYAR.

Page 53.—Reading *Laṅkā dipayaṭṭa eka mangala dīpayak men pēmina Lankātanka prasamaya koṭṭe samasta Lankādvīpaya apararaka*

grahayaksé sambādha koṣa, I would propose to render it: "Having arrived at the Island of Lapkā, like a festal lamp (for Lapkā), he allayed the fears (of the inhabitants) of Lapkā, and having screened (protected) the whole Island of Lapkā, as one would do in the case of a lying-in chamber."

"*Rājadin dēka*" may be rendered: "Having seen the princes, &c., quit their lands and rush into the jungle, he kindly gave them assurance of safety, and seeing no rival even in Dambadiwa," &c.

Page 56.—Reading *Śrī Dharmasreyān saricalokaika mānyas, sreyaśdāyī sarwadāraśhanīyah Bhūpāleन्द्रān yachate kīrtihetor, bhūyo bhūyo wira Niṣṣaṅka Malla*, I would suggest the following version:—

"(May there be) prosperity! The Dharma (Buddhist system of doctrine) is most excellent; (it is) the only thing worthy of being respected by the whole world: that confers final happiness: that should be protected at all times: the heroic Niṣṣaṅka Malla requests that supreme rulers of the earth may do so for the sake of renown."

Page 56.—I think *Ganda* must be written *Gaṇḍa* (गण्ड), which is applied to Bengal proper. *Chōḍa* is the Sanskrit, = *Choḷu* Pāli = Siphalese *Soltraṭa*, identified with modern Tanjore.

Page 57.—*Sarbbāṅgasundarin* may be rendered "endowed with beauty all over the body," being compounded of *sarīra* "every," *aṅga* "limb," and *sundarī* "(a woman) who is handsome." *Weruṇṇa*—"garments," "coverings for the body," compounded of *weru* "body," and *ṇṇa* "coverings."

Page 70.—*Śrī Siri Saṅgha Bō Wira Rāja, &c.* I would propose to render the above inscription as follows:—

"The illustrious overlord Siri Saṅga Bō Wīrarāja Niṣṣaṅka Malla Kāliṅga Parākrama Bāhu, with a view to (*sandahā*) the permanency of the Buddhist religion for five thousand years (and)^o influenced by faith and (prompted) by wisdom,† the duties performed by the well-conducted great priesthood in conformity with *Dhamma* (Doctrine) and *Vinaya* (Rules of Discipline)."

* Reading *puriwāṅgamai* for *pungwāṅgamai*,—which literally means "going before" or "preceded by."

† Here the finite verb has to be supplied from the latter part, which is omitted.

THREE SINGHALESE INSCRIPTIONS: TEXT,
TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION,
AND NOTES.

BY MUDALIYAR B. GUNASEKARA.

I.—LAṆKĀTILAKA INSCRIPTION.

(Text.)

සංස්කූත.

ශ්‍රීකතවතීසෙත් එක්දහස් දෙසිය සසෑව අවුරුද්දක් පිරුණු
සඳ මේකල(1) රජ පැමිණි ක්‍රිස්තලායිකවර ගුවනෙකබාහු
නමුවූ(2) මව තුන්වනු වෙසහසුර පසලොස්වක දෙවාසයේ(3)
මහසංඝසාවගන්සේ එක්ව සිදුරුවාගේ(4) පන්හල්ල මුදු
නෙහි කැරවූ නාසක පිළිම අටවිස්සක් හා පිළිම සහසය
කින්(5) සමුපුණ්ණිවූ සතරවෙනි මාලත් පිළිමසාමිහුත් පිළිම
පහකින් සමුපුණ්ණිව(6) කැරවූ තුන්වෙනි මාලත් අටවිසි බොධි
සෙනුත්(7) සුවිසිවරණසෙනුත්(8) පිළිම සහසයකින්
සමුපුණ්ණිව මුදලිවරුන් ඇමදෙනත් සේනාවත් එක්ව කැරවූ
දෙවෙනි මාලත් ශ්‍රීමහ බොධිසාමිහත්ව පිටලා වජ්‍රාසනයේ
වැඩහුත් බාහු දෙසිය පණස් සෑව(9) දෙනෙකු වගන්සේ
ගෙන් බාහු රූපයක්(10) පිහිටුවා කළ නාසක පිළිමසාමිහුත්
සිහියම පිළිම සහසයක්දෙනාවගන්සේත් මෙමත්‍රි බොධිසත
පත්වගන්සේත් ලොකෙශවරනාථයන්වගන්සේත් සුභා
ම(11) සතතුසිත(12) ගත්‍ර බ්‍රහ්ම විෂණු මහෙශවරද්දවූ දිවා
රූපත් මෙකි ඇමදෙනාගේ දිවා භූමි රූපත් ලංකාවට අරක්
ගත් කිහිඳු(13) උපුල්වත්(14) දෙවිරජ්ජුරුවන්වගන්සේ
ත් සුමන(15) විහිසණ(16) ගණපති(17) සනාඤ්ඤාමාරදී(18)
දෙවිරජ්ජුරුවන්වගන්සේත් බිසෝවරුන්වගන්සේත් මෙකි
බුදුන් දෙවියන්ගෙන් සමුපුණ්ණිවූ සෙතාලංකාධිකාරී නමුවූ
මෙකුත් තමන් කැරවූ පාතමාලත් පිළිමගෙසි වැලිකොන්ද
පටත් කොත්කැරැල්ල දක්වා ස්ථපතිරසත්(19) ඇතුළුවූ බො
හෝ අවාර්වරුන්ව දුන් විත් රත්රන් රිදී පිළි ඇතුළුවූ දෙ
සිත් මසුරන් ආගසෙන්(20) තුන්කෙල සැටලක්කක් දී කැරවූ

අපිත් මුදලිවරුන් සේනාවත් එක්ව කැරවූ මේ ශ්‍රී ලංකා තිලක සඬි තමලා කැරවූ මහපිළිමගෙනුත් සෙනාලංකාධිකාරයෝ තමන්ගේ පුත්‍ර වනිතාදීන් ලවා කැරවූ අවමිසි රියන් මණ්ඩපයෙහි පිහිටුවූ ඝනලොහ ප්‍රතිමාවක් අපිස්මාලවරුන් (21) වහන්සේ ඇතුළුව දෙවාසයේ මහාසංඝයාවහන්සේ සැපපර්භෝගයෙන් සැතපෙනලෙසට කැරවූ සංඝාරාම දෙකත් පුෂ්පාරාම ඵලාරාමයෙන් යුක්තවූ ශ්‍රීමහාවිහාරය මතු පවත්වනලෙස ප්‍රතිස්ථාපිත ඇත මැනවැයි සෙනාලංකාධිකාරයෝ අපට කීහෙයින් මෙසේම සිදුරුවාන නුවරබද කිරි වැව්ලෙන් බිජුවටසාලකුත් අපිත් මුදලිවරුන් සේනාවත් එක්ව අමුතුව ඇල අමුණු බඳවා තරකැරවාලූ අලුත්බදල ගොඩින් කුඹුරුබිජු සසාලකුත් පරණබදලගොඩින් බිජු පස් සාලකුත් ඇතුළුව කුඹුරුබිජු දෙලොස්සාලකුත් මෙහි බද ගසකොලවල්පිට ඇතුළුවූ තැනුත් සේනාලංකාධිකාරයෝ තමන්ගේ පමුණු (22) ප්‍රවේණියෙන් පිදු හිද්දුමුල්ලගොත්වා නිකයෙන් බිජුවටසාලකුත් වාසල කැරවූ අධිකාරයන්ගෙන් පිදු පරණබදලගොඩසකාල්ලෙන් බිජුවටසාලකුත් සත්රුවන්පතිරාජයන්ගෙන් පිදු කසබිලියාගොඩින් බිජුවටසාලකුත් පතිරාජයන්ගෙන් පිදු දෙල්තොට හින්පැත්තදුරේ (23, 24) දරාම පවත් සපුතලයේ ඉම දක්වා කුඹුරු බිජුවට දෙලසමුණකුත් සත්තානෙන් මගුලපිටියෙල (25) එකකුත් පිදුරුවානා දෙනුවර කුඩා මහත් ඇමදෙනාත් එක්ව ඇල අමුණු බැඳ කණ්ණුල් උයන තනා යුත් තැන් පිදු ගොඩවෙලින් බිජුවටසාලකුත් ඇතුළුව කුඹුරුබිජුවට දසසත්සාල දෙලසමුණක් ඇතුළුව මෙයිතුවක් තැන පරණඉමුව පරිද්දෙන් මෙහි බද ගස කොල වල්පිට ඇතුළුවූ තැනුත් සේනාලංකාධිකාරයෝ තමන්ගෙන් පිදු රත්රන් රිදී ලෝකඩ තඹකඩ ඇතුළුව ගරුභාණ්ඩත් මෙසේම තමන්ගේ මගුල්වහලින් රත්වහලින් ගැණුන් පිරිමින්ගෙන් වහල්රු දෙසියයකුත් ඵලසරකින් මීසරකින් සරක්රු සාරසියයකුත් මෙසේම විහාරගෙ විහාරයෙ කලදෙස පවා නොකලදෙස කරවා දෙවියන්ට බුදුන්ට නිරන්තරයෙන් බත් මල් පහන් පුදමලක්කම් (26) පවතින ලෙසට ලංකාවාසින් තමන්ගේ නමලා කලහෙයින් අවුරුද්දකට ගෙයකින් පණමක් නියායෙන් දෙත්ට සලසනු පිදෙහි පණමුත් ඇතුළු මඩිගයෙන් පිට මඩිගයෙන් නවතො

පින් අවලොස්දේශයෙන් ආ ව්‍යාපාරයන්ගෙන් ගන්නා දෙන
යම් බඩුයෙකින් සියයට කාලක් නියායෙන් තබන ලියාදුන්
සමයෙහිගෙන් ලත් සියලු වස්තුව ඇතුළුව ඇම ලාභය පසක්
කොට බෙදා තුනුරුවන්ට තුන්භාගයකුත් දෙවියන්ට භාගය
කුත් මෙකුත්ගේ දරු මුනුබුරු පරමපරාවෙන් මෙහි බැඳ පව
ත්වන කෙණේකුන්ට භාගයකුත් සැලැස්වූ නියාවත් මෙයින්
කිසිවකට විරුඩයක් කොට ලෝභයෙන් පැහැරගත් කෙ
ණේක් ඇත්නම් නරකාදී සහර අපායෙහි ඉපද මෙතෙක් වූයත්
නොදක්නාහුය. කාක ප්‍රේතාදීන් මෙන් බත් පැන් නොලැබ
වණ්ඩාලයන්ටත් අනභව කවුඩන් බල්ලන්ට පුත්වූවානුනම්
වෙතියි දන—

නිණිං වා යදි වා කථං, පුත්ථං වා යදි වා ඵලං
යො හරෙ වුබ්භොගසස මහාපෙතො හවිසසති.

කියා ශ්‍රීමුවපාඨගෙයින් මෙලෝ පරලෝ දෙක්හිම සැප
විඳිනාකැමතිවූ උතතමයන් විසින් කිසිවකටත් ආශාවක් නො
කොට බසකින් අකුරක් විවරකින් මෙපින්කමට සහායව
කල දෙය පවා නොකල දෙය පවත්වා කරවාලන කෙණේක්
ඇත්නම් මේ කුසලය තමන් කලා සේ අනුමෝදන්ව දිව
සැපත් නිවන් සැපත් සාධාගන්නාපිණිස මේ පින්කමට සේ
නාලංකාධිකාරයෙන් මෙසේවූ ආරාධනාවක් කෙරෙත්.

අසක ප්‍රසකසසත්‍රනාත් තනපාදවයස්ථරජ:
සෙනාලංකාධිකාරෙඤ්‍ය: කුරුතෙ මුඛිති පුෂ්පවත්.

මේ පින්කමට යම් උතතමයක්හු විසින් බසකින්වත් සහා
යව රක්නාලැබේද ඒ උතතමයාගේ පාදබුලි සෙනාලංකාධි
කාරී නම්වූ මාවිසින් සුවදමල් සමුහයක්මෙන් මාගේ ඉස්මුදු
තෙන් පුදනලදී.

සංරක්ඛං ධම්මනෙක රූපං
බඬාඤ්ඤාලිථිවුඪිනියාවතෙසො
ජාතානතරෙඤ්‍යානපිත්ඨමානාත්
මනත්‍රිශ්වරාත් සවිතකජිහාන බහු ශ්‍රී.

සම්පුණ්ණවූ මේ කුශල ධර්මය උපන් රුජේතනමයන්වහන්
සේ විසිනුත් මතු උපදින රුජේතනමයන් විසිනුත් උපත්

අමාත්‍යාංශාධිපතිවරයා විසින් මතු උපදිනා ඇපා මහපා සිට සෙනෙවිරත් ප්‍රධාන මහතා විසින් එසේම ධනවත්තා ශ්‍රීවත්ත දෙමල සිංහල සේනාව විසින් මෙකී පරිද්දෙන් ශ්‍රී මහා විහාරය සංරක්ෂණ පරිපාලන කාරණය මී උත්තමයෙක් ඇත්නම් ඔවුන්ට දශනබසමොධානයෙන් දෙසොත් මුද්‍රනෙහි ඇදීලියාද වැන්දෙමිසි කියා බොධිසථි චරිතයක්මෙන් උතුම්වූ ගුණඇති ලංකා සෙනෙවිරත් මහ රජතන් විසින් මෙසේ යාවසුකෙළේයි.

දනපාලනසොමීඛෝ දනං ශ්‍රෙයොනුපාලනම්
දනාත් සිංහං ච ප්‍රාපෙතාහි පාලනාදව්‍යතං පදං.

යන මේ සුභාෂිත වචනයෙන් තමතමා දීමය අනුත් දුන්නා රක්ෂාකිරීමය යන සුකති ක්‍රමයෙන් බිජුවට පිහිටුවුවන්ට වඩා වැටකොට රක්ෂාකල අයට ඒ ශසාඵලයෙන් ප්‍රයෝජන වනහෙයින්ද දරුවන් වැදූ මැනියන්ට වඩා සුතප්‍රේමයෙන් ඇතිකලවුන්ට ඒ පුත්‍රයාගෙන් ප්‍රයෝජන වන හෙයින්ද පින් කමෙහි වචන මාත්‍රාවකින් කාය ව්‍යයාමකින්වත් සහායවූ සත්පුරුෂකෙණෙක් ඇත්නම් මතු දිව්‍ය මනුෂ්‍ය සම්පත් සාධා කෙලවර අමාමහතිවන් දකින්නට උත්සාහ කටයුතු.

සිංහරසතු,
ඥාමසතු,
ආරෝග්‍යමසතු,
කලානමසතු,
විරං ජීවමසතු.

(Transliteration.)

Swasti.

Śrī Śaka varshayen ek dahas desiya sasēṭa awuruddak
piruṇu sanda me kala(1) raja pēṃṇi Tri Siphālādhiśwara
Bhuvanaikabāhu namwū(2) maṭa tunwanu vesanga pura
pasalowsaka dewāsāyē(3) maha saṅghayāwahansē ekwa Sin-
duruwānē(4) Panhāgala mudunehi kērawū nāyaka piḷima
aṭawissak hā piḷima sahasayakin(5) sampūrṇawū sataraweni
mālat piḷimasāminut piḷima pahakin sampūrṇawakin(6)
kērawū tunweni mālat aṭawisibōdhiyenut(7) sūwisivivaraṇa-
yenut(8) piḷima sahasrayakinut sampūrṇawa mudaliwarun

emadenat sēnāwat ekwa kērawū deweni mālāt śrī maha
 bōdhisāmānta piṭa lā vajrasanayē vṛḍa hun dhātu desiya
 paṇas sēṭa(9) denaku wahansēgen dhāturūpayak(10) pihiṭuwā
 kaḷa nāyaka piḷima sāminut sitiyaṃ piḷima sahasrayak
 denā wahansēt Maitrī bōdhi satwayanwahansēt lōkēśwara
 Nāthayan wahansēt Suyāma(11) Santusita(12) Śakra,
 Brahma, Viṣṇu, Mahēśwarādiwū divya rūpat meki ema
 denāgē divya strī rūpat Laṅkāwaṭa arakgat Kihireḷli(13)
 Upulvan(14) devi rajjuruwan wahansēt Sumana(15) Vibhī-
 shaṇa(16) Gaṇapati(17) Skandakumārādi(18) devi rajjuru-
 wanwahansēt bisōwarun wahansēt meki budun deviyangen
 sampūrṇawū Sēnālaṅkādhikāri nam wū mekun taman
 kērawū pāta mālāt piḷima geyi wēlikonda paṭan kot kēṛella
 dakwā sthapatirāyan(19) eṭuluwū bohō āchāriwarunṭa dun
 vīt ratran ridī piḷi eṭuluwū deyin masuran āṣayen(20)
 tun keḷa sēṭa lakshayak dī kērawū apit mudaliwarut
 sēnāwat ekwa kērawū mé Śrī Laṅkātilakayayi nama lā
 kērawū maha piḷimagenut Sēnālaṅkādhikārayō tamangē
 putra vanitādīn lawā kērawū aṭawisi rīyan maṇḍapayehi
 pihiṭuwū ghana lōhapratimāwat apismālawarun(21) wahansē
 eṭuluwū dewāsayē mahā sanghayā wahansē sēpa pari-
 bhōgayen sētapena lesaṭa kērawū sanghārāma dekat push-
 pārāma phalāramayen yuktawū śrī mahā viharāya
 matu pawatwana lesa pratishṭhāwak eṭa mēnawēyi Sēnālaṅ-
 kādhikārayō apaṭa kī heyin mesēma Sinduruwāna nuwara
 banda Kiriwāmulen bijuwaṭa yālakut apit mudaliwarunut
 sēnāwat ekwa amutuwa eḷa amuṇu baṇḍawā tarakērawā lū
 alut Badalagoḍin kumburu biju sayālakut paraṇa Badala-
 goḍin biju pasyālakut eṭulūwa kumburu biju doḷos
 yālakut mehi banda gasa koḷa wal piṭa eṭuluwū tēnut
 Sēnālaṅkādhikārayō tamangē pamuṇu(22) pravēpiyen pidū
 Hiddāmulla Gonwānikayen bijuwaṭa yālakut wāsala kērawū
 adhikārayangen pidū paraṇa Badalagoḍa Yakāllen bijuwaṭa
 yālakut Satruwan Patirājayangen pidū Kasambiliyāgoḍin
 bijuwaṭa yālakut Patirājayangen pidū Deltota Hīnpenkan-
 durē(23) darāṇḍa paṭan(24) Saputalayē ima dakwā kumburu
 bijuwaṭa doḷasamuṇakut Santānayen magula piṭi yela(25)

ekakut Sinduruwáná deuwara kudá mahat ɛma denát ekwa ɛla amunu benda kaɲu mul udurá taná dun tɛn pidú Goḍawelin bijuwata yalakut ɛtuɭuwa kumburu bijuwata dasa sat yála doɭosamunak ɛtuɭuwa meyituwak tɛna paraɲa imwú paridden mehi banda gasa koɭa wal piṭa ɛtuɭuwú tɛnut Sénálaɣkádhikárayó tamangen pidú rat ran ridí lókaḍa tambakaḍa ɛtuɭuwú garubháṇḍat meséma tamangé magul wahalin ran wahalin gɛɲun pirimiugen vahalrú desiyayakut ela sarakin mí sarakin sarakrú sára siyayakut meséma vihárage viháraye kála deya pavá nokaɭa deya karavá deviyaṇṭa budunṭa niran-tarayen bat mal' pahan puda malakkam(26) pavatiná lesaṭa Lapkáwásin tamangé nama lá kaɭa heyin awuruddakaṭa geyakin paɲamak niyáyen denṭa salasanu pidéni paɲamut ɛtuɭu maḍigayen piṭa maḍigayen navatoṭin aṭaɭos dɛṣayen á vyáparaɲangen ganná dena yam baḍuyekin siyayata kálak niyáyen tamba pata liyá dun samaya śriyen lat siyalu wastuwa ɛtuɭuwa ɛma lábhaya pasak koṭa bedá tunu ruwanṭa tun bhágayakut deviyaṇṭa bhágayakut mekungé daru munu-buru paramparaɲwen mehi benda pavatvana keɲekunṭa bhágayakut seɭešwú niyávat—meyin kisiwakata viruddhayak koṭa lóbbhayen peḥeɲgat keɲek ɛt nam narakádi satara apáyehi ipada meté budun nodaknáhuya—káka prétáḍín meṇ bat peɲ nolɛba chaṇḍálayanṭat antawa kavuḍan ballaṇṭa putwúwáhunam vetiyi dena

“tiɲanvá yadí vá kaṭṭhan pupphaɲ vá yadi vá phalaɲ

“yó hare Buddhabhógassa mahá pétó bhavissatí.”

Kiyá śrí mukha páṭha heyin meló paraló dekhima sepa vindiná kɛmativú uttamayan wisin kisiwakaṭat áśáwak nokoṭa basakin akurak vicharakin me pinkamaṭa saháyawa kaɭa deya pavá nokaɭa deya pavatwá karavá lana keɲek ɛt nam mé kusa-laya taman kaɭá sé anumódanwa diva sepat nivan sepat sádhá ganuá pipisa mé pinkamaṭa Sénálaɣkádhikárayót meséwú árádhanaɲwak keret :—

“Asyá(27) prasyá yasatra nán tana pádadvayajaɲ rajah

“Sénálaɣkádhikáréndraɲ kuruté mürdhni pushpawat.”

Mé pinkamaṭa yam uttamayakhu wisin basakin wat saháyawa

rakná leḷēda é uttamayágé páda dhúli Sénálaḡkádhikári
namwú má wisin suvanda mal samúhayak men mágé ismudu-
nen pudana ladí.

“Sagrakshitup dharmamanékarúpaḡ baddháñjalir mürdhani
yáchaté só.

“Játánnaréndránapi jáyamánán mantriṣwarán savinyá(28)
jitána bahu ṣri.”

(1) Sampúrṣawú mé kuṣala dharmaya upan rájóttamayan
wahansé wisinut matu upadiná (3) épá mahapá siṭu senevirat
(2) rájóttamayan wisinut upan amátyóttamayan wahansé
wisinut matu upadiná (4) pradhána mahatun wisinut eséma
dhanavanta ṣrívanta Demaḡa Siḡhala sénáwa wisinut mekí
paridden Ṣrí mahá viháraya saḡrakshaṇa paripálana karaṇa
yam uttamayek et nam owunṭa daṣanakhasamódhánayen
dohot mudunehi endili benda wendemiṡi kiyá Bódhisatwa
charitayak men utumwú guṇa etti Laḡká Senevirat maha
rajánan wisin mesé yáchñá keléyi :—

“Dána pálanayórmaddhyé dánag(29) ṣréyó nupálanam

“Dánát(30) swargaḡ cha prápnóti pálanádachyutaḡ padaḡ.”

yana mé subháshita vachanayen tama tamá dímaya anun
dunná rakshá kirímaya yana yukti kramayen bijuvaṭa(31)
pihiṭuwúwanṭa waḡá weṭakoṭa rakshákala ayata é ṣasyapha-
layen prayójana wana heyin da daruwan weḡú mēniyanṭa
waḡá sutaprémayen etikalaḡwunṭa é putrayágen prayójana
wana heyin da pinkamehi wachana mátrávakín káyavyáyama-
kin wat saháyawú satpurusha keṇek et nam matu dívyá
manushya sampat sádhá kelawara amá maha nivan dakinṭa
utsáha kaṭayutu.

Siddhirastu.

Ṣubhamastu.

A'rógyamastu.

Kalyáṇamastu.

Chiraḡ Jívamastu.

(Translation.)

(May there be) health.

In the third year of me, Bhuvanaika Báhu, the supreme lord
of the three-fold Siḡhala, who ascended the throne of Laḡká
in the 1266th year of the illustrious Saka era, on the fifteenth

day of the bright half of the month Wesak, Sénálapkádhi-kára, having told us that it would be well if any help were rendered with a view to hereafter maintain the great and beautiful Vihāre consisting of—

The fourth story furnished with the twenty-eight principal images and 1,000 images which were caused to be made on the top of Paghalgala in Sinduruwāna, conjointly with the priesthood of the two orders (priests who reside in forests and priests who live in villages) ;

The third story caused to be furnished with the principal images and five (other) images ;

The second story caused to be made by all the Mudaliyárs and the people conjointly, containing descriptions of the twenty-eight Bódhis (trees under which Buddhas attain Buddhahood) and the assurances of twenty-four Buddhas (that Gotama will become a Buddha), and 1,000 images (of other objects) ;

The lowest story caused to be made by Sénálapkádhi-kára, and consisting (of the images) of these Buddhas and gods, viz., the principal image, in which was deposited one of the 256 constituent parts of (Buddha's) body, seated on the diamond throne with the back turned towards the great and illustrious Bó tree ; 1,000 painted images, Maitrí Bódhisatwa ; Nátha, chief of the world ; the divine likenesses of the gods in the Suyāma and Santusita worlds, of Śakra, Brahma, Viṣṇu, Mahéswara, &c., as also the images of the wives of the said gods ; the god-king Kihireḷi Upulvan, the tutelary deity of Laṅká ; the god-kings Sumana, Vibhishana, Gaṇapati, Skandakumāra, &c., as also their wives ;

The big image-house caused to be made under the name of the illustrious Laṅkátílaka by Us and the Mudaliyárs and the people at the expense of 36,000,000 in value of gold masus, of things including paddy, gold, silver, and clothes given to many workmen, including head carpenters, who did the work from the foundation up to the top of the spire, as also the solid metal image placed on the terrace of 28 cubits which Sénádhilapkára caused to be built by his wife and

children, &c.; (and) the two monasteries caused to be made with a view to the accommodation of the great body of the priests of the two orders, inclusive of aged priests who have but little desire (for the world); the flower garden and the orchard;—the following grant was made:—

One yāla of paddy sowing extent from Kiriwāmula belonging to the said Sinduruwānanuwara, six yālas of sowing extent from Alut Badalagoḍa which We, tho Mudaliyārs, and other people conjointly caused to become fertile by making a fresh, strong dam; five yālas of sowing extent from Paraṇa Badalagoḍa, twelve yālas (inclusive of the above) and places together with the trees, shrubs, and meadows belonging thereto; one yāla of sowing extent from Gonwānika in Hiddāmulla, which Sēnalapḱādhikāra offered out of his hereditary possession; one yāla of sowing extent from Yakālla in Paraṇa Badalagoḍa, which was offered by the minister who managed affairs at the royal court; one yāla of sowing extent from Kasambiliyāgoḍa, which was offered by Satruvan Patirāja; twelve amuṇu of sowing extent lying between the upper side of the field Hīnpēnkandura in Deltōṭa and the limit of Saputalé, offered by Patirāja; one.....from Santāna; one yāla of sowing extent from Goḍawela offered by all the small and great, conjointly, in the two-fold Sinduruwānanuwara, after having thrown up embankments, uprooted the stumps, and prepared it (for cultivation)—all amounting to seventeen yālas and twelve amuṇu in all the aforesaid places, according to the old boundaries; the places including the trees, shrubs, and meadows appertaining thereto; the furniture, including gold, silver, bell-metal, and copper vessels offered by Sēnalapḱādhikāra of his own property; 200 male and female servants, amongst whom some are his own ancestral servants and others purchased by him; 400 black cattle and buffaloes;—in order that continually rice, flowers, lamps, and religious festivities may be continued for the sake of the gods and Buddhas—finishing the work left incomplete and repairing the work already done in the temple and monastery.

The inhabitants of Lapká having done this work under their name, offerings at the rate of one fanam from each household have been enjoined upon them.

All the income derived from everything accruing from the produce of each season as prescribed on copper plate, to the effect that one fourth per cent. from any goods given to, or received from, the merchants who come from the eighteen countries, from the nine ports, and from the carriage departments in the inner and outer city. It is decreed that the said income must be divided into five parts, three of which are to go to the three gems, one to the gods, and the other one to the children and grandchildren of those who will constantly maintain (these endowments).

If there should be any one who from covetousness should take away any of these things (thus granted), disputing title to the same, he will be born in the four hells, Naraka, &c., and not see Meté (Maitrí) Buddha; like unto crows, disembodied spirits, &c., he will suffer from want of rice and water, and be more degraded than the Chandálas (outcasts) and become the offspring of crows and dogs.

If anybody takes away grass, wood, flower, or fruit which is the property of Buddha, he will become a great Péta (hobgoblin).

(1) If, in view of this noble original saying, any great men wish to enjoy happiness in this world and the next, and (3) without coveting anything (2) help forward this charitable work even by a word or letter, and (4) not only keep up the work already completed but also execute the work which is left undone, they may participate in the merits of this act as if done by themselves, and work out for themselves the happiness of heaven and Nirvápa.

Sénálapkádhikára makes also the following request :—

The most excellent Sénálapkádhikára places, like a flower on his head, the dust sticking to the two feet of him who is the maintainer of this charitable act.

With clasped hands on his head he requests the born and

the future princes, ministers, and commanders of armies, and wealthy people to patronise the manifold Dhamma.

Between a gift and its maintenance, the maintenance is better than the gift itself : in consequence of the gift one attains heaven, in consequence of its maintenance one attains the state from which there is no fall (Nirvána).

If, in accordance with the above well-said maxim, there be any good person who, by mere word or bodily exertion, will be a helper in this charitable deed, let him endeavour to attain divine and human happiness, and, finally, to experience the ambrosial and great Nirvána, keeping in view the fact that one who puts up a fence and protects seed derives benefit more than the man who planted the seed, and one who brings up a child with parental affection derives benefit more than the mother who brought forth the child.

May there be the accomplishment of wishes !

May there be good success !

May there be health !

May there be happiness !

May there be long life !

(Notes.)

(1) *Kala* is evidently a clerical error for *Laka* — *Lakká*.

(2) The king referred to in the following inscription was Bhuvanaika Báhu IV. of Gampola, who ascended the throne 1344 A.D. According to "Nikáya Saṅgraha," Sénálapkádhi-kára, his minister, sent pearls, precious stones, &c., to Káñchhipura (modern Conjeveram of Southern India), where he got a stone image made. He also caused to be made at Dewunuwara (Dewundara, or Dondra) a three-storeyed house with images (of Buddha) in a standing posture, and caused a large image-house of eighteen cubits to be built at Akbó wehera (Agrabódhi vihára). Moreover, on the top of the Parṇaṣaila rock in the Sinduruwána nuwara, his native place, he caused to be built a magnificent vihára, *Lakkátílaka* by name, which was as beautiful as the Kailása rock. He also performed many other religious acts and led a pious

life. On hearing of the many irreligious acts of those who professed the (Buddhist) religion, he made it known to the chapter of priests in the two monasteries, at the head of which was the High Priest Wanaratana, who resided at Amaragiri, and, with royal patronage, he (the minister) effected a reformation in the religion.

(3) *Devāsāyē*: "of the two habitations," a term applied to designate priests who live in the villages and those who live in forests secluded from human society.

(4) The ancient division of Sinduruwāna is now divided into two parts, which form the modern divisions of Uḍunuwara and Yaṭīnuwara. To the latter a small district, including lands on the other side of the Mahawēli-ganga, was added when the capital was built.

(5) Read *sahasrayakin* for *sahasayukin*.

(6) Omit *kin* after *sampūrnawa*.

(7) *Aṭavisibōdhi*, the twenty-eight sacred trees at which the twenty-eight Buddhas attained Buddhahood.

(8) *Sāvisi-vivarana*, a term applied to denote the assurances Gotama had of his becoming a Buddha—assurances made by the 24 Buddhas who preceded him.

(9) Read *panas-saya* for *paṇas-ṣeṭa*.

(10) *Dhāturūpayak*. Here *rūpayak* is pleonastic, as also *rū* (i.e. *rūpa*) in *wahal-rū* and *sarak-rū* below.

(11) *Suyāma*, a clerical error for *Yāma*, one of the six divine worlds.

(12) *Santusita*, name of the fourth divine world, commonly called Tusitabhawana.

(13) *Kihireḷi*, = Khadiradēhali, an epithet of Viṣṇu.

(14) *Upulvan*, = Utpalavarṇa, an epithet of Viṣṇu.

(15) *Sumana*, the tutelary deity of Adam's Peak.

(16) *Vibhishana*, the younger brother of Rāvaṇa and friend of Rāma.

(17) *Ganapati*, more commonly called Gaṇeśa, son of Śiva and Pārvati, the deity of wisdom and remover of obstacles.

(18) *Skanda*, the Hindu god of war, more commonly known in Ceylon as "Kataragama Deviyō."

Kuḍumirisa is a hamlet about fourteen miles from Colombo, and forms a part of Koswinna in Siyané Kóralé. The inscription is tolerably well preserved, with the exception of a few

විල හා මෙම දිගින් මාව | ත(5) හා උදගොඩයාගේ දෙ
 ණිය හා බස්නාහිරින් ගලසිටියාව හා උතුරුදිගින් බව
 දෙ | ල තුන්බැකොස්ගස හා තලගසයාවා අතුරෙද හා
 මෙම දිගින් වැකන්ද හා තුන්මෝද | ර ඇල හා ගල්කඩුව
 හා මෙකී සිව් මානිමව ඇතුලත්වූ මෙහි බද ගත්මුදල ගස
 කොළව | ල් විල් කුඹුරු ඕවිටි ඇතුළුවූ තැන් හරිතගොහුගෙ
 අනුපොරොත්ත* වෙංගඩත්තුරවාරන් | ආනෙල් ගොනෙ
 පොරොත්ත තරමලතාදරන් ආනෙගොනෙ ශ්‍රීරමරන්
 කාශාප ගොනෙ | තිමසරන් භාරවාපගොනෙ සචෙවසරන්
 ගාගෝ† ගොනෙ බාලවඤ්ඤ පභිතයන්කොඞිනා | ගොනෙසු
 බ්‍රාහ්මණහට්ටරන් කාශාපගොනෙ තිසබ්බධත්තාදරන්කාශා
 පගොනෙ නිසබ්බ | තෙනුවරප්පෙරුමාඵන් කාශාපගොනෙ
 මෙමලරප්පෙරුමාඵන් භාරවාපගොනෙ ආනඤ්ඤවට්ටරන් |
 කොඞිනාගොනෙ අවුගොලමිප්ඤ්ඤපලෙපොරොත්තාදර පෙ
 රුමාඵන් ගාගෝගොනෙ | උලකුඩසපෙරුමාඵන් ගාගෝ
 ගොනෙ ගෙන්පකප්පෙරුමාඵන් හරිතගොනෙසරසබ්බි | තෙ
 නුවරප්පෙරුමාඵන් ගොතමගොනෙ උලකුඩසපෙරුමාඵන්
 හරිතගොනෙතිව්‍යාඤ්ඤවට්ටරන් | හරිතගොනෙ බොධාගමධත්ත
 වධිතින්සාමදග්ගිව්‍යා||ගොනෙවිනාසකහට්ටරන්කාශාප |
 ගොනෙවෙද අමාතාධිරායරන්කාශාපගොනෙ ඵෙලක්ඛුරු
 කුමිපෙරුමාඵන් කාශාපගොනෙ | වෙදට්ටාසිරන් හරිතගො
 නෙ ආනන්දහට්ටවෙංකඩත්තුරවාරන් හරිතගොනෙ විනාස
 කප්පෙරුමාඵන් | වාසකගොනෙවරුණපත්‍රවඤ්ඤවෙත්තාභුමි
 පෙරුමාඵන් හරිතගොනෙ ගෙන්තාමිප්ඤ්ඤන් කොඞිනා |
 ගොනෙශ්‍රීරහරපරන්කොඞිනාගොනෙ මන්ත්‍රමුත්තන් කොඞි
 නාගොනෙ තරමලතාදරන්කොඞිකගොනෙ | අභිච්ඡෙද
 බාහසපති හට්ටරන් කාශාපගොනෙ වෙදුමාලෙසිට්ටපෙරු
 මාඵන් තීරුමරෙක්කාවට්ට බුදලියාරන් | භාරවාපගොනෙ
 නාගදණ්ඩවට්ටරන් කාශාපගොනෙ තිමිමෙමසරන් ඇතුළුවූ
 බ්‍රාහ්මණයන්ගේ දරුමුහුඹුරු පරම්පරාවෙන් | අභ්‍යාරව
 ආවඤ්ඤාභිකාසථාසිව පවත්නා නිසායෙන් සලකා—දානපාල

* පුරොග්‍ය.
 † ආනෙස.
 ‡ ගර්භික.

§ පමදග්ගි.
 || වසික.

නසොමිබො දානාශ්‍රයොනුපාලනම් | දානාත්ඤ්ඤිමවා
 ඥෙහාති පාලනාදවුත්තම්පදම්. දානම්විභූයති* ශ්‍රොකෙ සචේව
 භාමිභූගුජම් නභෝරත්තකර | ග්‍රාහකදානොදනනාථවසු
 නිග්—මෙකිසනලද පුච්චොත්තවචනසද අනාගතසෙතිපෑ
 මිණි රාජරාජමාමාතකදිත්විසිත් | හැමචේලෙහිම සිති
 කොට මෙකිසන අග්‍රහාරදුනපුණ්‍යක්‍රියාව කලක් පවතිනා
 තියාසෙන් සලඤ්චාදල මෙහෙ | වරින් ශිලාලෙඛන ලියවා
 දුන් බවට ශ්‍රීලංකාධිපති ශ්‍රීපරාක්‍රමබාහු වැඩලත් තැන්
 අවසිසෙ දෙවියන් බුදුන් සත්ත | ක කොටවා දීලා තනාගත්
 නාලෙස පළමු සත්තස දෙවාදදුලම්

(Transliteration.)

Śrī · Lakṣādhipatiḥ Parākramabhujassūryānvayālapkratir
 yā | chēham bhavatō wachasṣṛiṇuta mē bhūmīśwarā bhāvināḥ
 dharmmōyam sadriṣaḥ samasta jaga || tāṇ satyam bhavadbhis
 sadā rakshyōsaumayi jāta harsha krapayā puṇyan tathā
 bhujjatām.

Swasti śrī mahā Sammata paramparānuṇyāta sūryavaṇṣābhi-
 jāta śrī Lakṣādhipati | Trisighalādhīśwara nawaratnādhipati
 śrīmat Sirisaṅgabō śrī Parākramabāhu chakrawa | rtti
 swāmīnwahansēta dasawana wesāṅgapura doḷoswaka Jaya-
 wardhanapurapravara | yehi sumangala prāsādābhimukha
 chitra maṇḍapayē siḥāsānayeḥi sirinives saha voṭuṇu |
 sivuseṭa baraṇin sēdī raja yuwaraja ḡmati gaṇa piriwarā
 dévéndralīlāwen wēḍahinda | hēma tēnhi kaḷamanā
 kaṭayuttaṭa vyawasthā vichārā wadāraṇa tēṇē swarggamōk-
 shasampatti | udesā nānā gōtra nānā sūtra nānā nāmāyen
 yukta brāhmaṇajātiyāṭa pitrī ṣ maha rajjuruwan | wahansē
 wēḍa indadī niyamakaḷāwū agrahāradānaya samurddha ||
 karanā pinisa Sīnā kōraḷaya | bada Koswinnayayi yana
 gamaṭa him—nēgena hirin galkaḍuwē māwata hā mema digin
 Kos | gasa hā sīn pēn dōḷa hā mema digin piḷimatalawuwē
 ṭēmba hā mema digin nēwēmiyāgē | wēkanda hā dakunu

* විභූයණි.

† භෝරත්ත.

‡ දුකොදුගත.

§ Pitri.

|| Samriddha.

digin Kirimeṭṭiyá doḷa há mema digin talápaḷawilá há mema digin máwa | ta há Undugodaṭṭagé deṇiya há basná-hirin Galasiṭṭiyáwa há uturudigin baṭado | la tunbékosgasahá talagasagáwá aturoda há mema digin vēkanda há tunmóda | ra eḷa há Galkaḍuwa há mekí siw máhimaṭa eṭuḷatwú mehi bada gan mudala gasa koḷa wa | 1 wil kuburu ówiṭi eṭuḷuwú ten Harita gótraye agra poróhita * Vengadatturaváran | A'tre † gótre poróhita Taramalanáðaran A'tre gótre Śri Rámaran Káśyapagótre | Timmayaran Bháradwája gótre Sawaiyaran Gárga ‡ gótre Bálachandra Paṇḍitayan Kaunḍinya | gótre Subbrahmaṇya bhaṭṭaran Káśyapa gótre Tískhandha-chchakkrarttan Káśyapa gótre Tískhandha | Tenuwarapperumálun Káśyapagótre Mailarapperumálun Bháradwájagótre A'nandabhaṭṭaran | Kaunḍinyagótre Awuhoḷa Ojjhalupaḷai Porokkul Perumálun Gárgegótre | Ulakuḍaya perumálun Gráge gótre Śenpakapperumálun Harita gótre Saraswati | Tenuwarapperumálun Gautama gótre Ulakuḍayaperumálun Harita gótre Timmá awadhánin | Harita gótre Bauddhágamachchakrawartín Yámadagni § Wastra || gótre Vináyakabhaṭṭaran Káśyapa | gótre Veda amátyádhiráyan Káśyapa gótre Ailakkuirraḷkum Perumálun Káśyapa gótre | Vedaṭṭáyiran Harita gótre A'nanda bhaṭṭa Venkadatturaváran Harita gótre Vináyakapperumálun | Vásta gótre Varuṇa jatra chandra Vaittāṅgum Perumálun Harita gótre Śenná Ojjhalun Kaunḍinya | gótre Śríraṣṅgarájaran Kaunḍinya gótre Mantramuttran Kaunḍinya gótre Taramalanáðaran Kauṣika gótre | Atharwwaṇa Veda Bṛihaspatibhaṭṭaran Káśyapa gótre Veḍumálaiyittaperumálun Tirumaraikkáṭṭu mudaliyáran | Bháradwjáa gótre Náráyaṇa bhaṭṭaran Káśyapa gótre Tim-maiyaran eṭuḷuwú bráhmaṇayangé daru munuburu param-paráwen | agrahárawa áchandrárkastháyiwa pawatná niyáyen salaswá,—Dānapálanayórmaddhyé dāná śrēyónupálanam | Dānát swarga mawápnóti pálanádachchutam pádam. Dānam

* Purohita.

† A'treya.

‡ Gárgiya.

§ Jamadagni.

|| Vasishṭha.

vibhúṣani * lóké sarvvéśhámapi bhúbhujám | Na bhójya †
na kara | gráhyá dánódattá, † wasundhará. Mekiyanalada
púrvvókta wachanayada anágatayehi pemiṇi rája rája mahá-
mátyádín wisin | hema vélehima sihikoṣa mekiyana agrahára
dána puṇya kriyáwa kalak pawatiná niyáyen salaswá wadála
mehe | warin śilálékhyā liyawá dun bawaṭa Śrī Laṅkádhpati
Śrī Parákramabáhu weḍa un ten awadhiye dewiyan budun
santa | ka koṭawá dila tanágannáleśa paḷamu sanhasa dewá
wadála mf.....

(Translation.)

I, Parákrama Báhu, supreme lord of the illustrious Laṅká, the ornament of the solar race, make my request to you, princes, who will hereafter come (to the throne) : Hear ye my words ! This meritorious deed is certainly common to all the inhabitants of the world. This should always be maintained by you with feelings of pleasure and kindness towards me. May (the fruit of) this meritorious action be also enjoyed by you.

May there be prosperity.

On the twelfth day of the bright half of the month Wesak (a) (April-May), in the tenth year of his reign, the imperial lord, the illustrious Siri Saṅgabó, Śrī Parákrama Báhu, who is lineally descended from the illustrious king Mahá Sammata, is born of the solar race, who is lord of the beautiful Laṅká, paramount sovereign of the three-fold Siṅhala, and lord of the nine treasures,—arrayed himself in the sixty-four ornaments, inclusive of the crown(b), the abode of Śrī (the goddess of prosperity), took his seat like Indra on the throne in the beautiful hall in front of the very auspicious palace in the eminent city of Jayawardhana, attended by kings, sub-kings, and the body of his ministers, and having, in the course of his inquiries as to the administration of the affairs throughout his kingdom, learned that his royal father had for the

* Vibhúṣaṇaṇ.

† Bhojyá.

. † Dánodattá.

sake of the enjoyment of release in heaven decreed in his lifetime a certain grant (3) to the Brahmin caste of various gótras (tribes), invested with sacred threads of various kinds and called by various names, (His Majesty) caused the said grant to be perpetuated, so long as the sun and moon endure, for the benefit of the children, grandchildren, and other lineal descendants of the Brahmins, including the chief family priest Vengadatturawaran of Harita tribe, the family priest Taramalanáðaran of A'tre (ya) tribe, Śrī Rámaran of A'tre(ya) tribe, Timmayaran of Kúśyapa tribe, Savaiyaran of Bháradvāja tribe, Bálachandra Paṇḍita of Gárge(ya) tribe, Subbrahmaṇya-bhaṭṭaran of Kaunḍinya tribe, Tiskhandha chechakkrarttan of Kúśyapa tribe, Tiskhandhatenuwarapperumálun of Kúśyapa tribe, Mailarapperumálun of Kúśyapa tribe, A'nandabhaṭṭaran of Bháradvāja tribe, Avuhoḷa Ojjhalupaḷai Porokkulperumálun of Kaunḍinya tribe, Ulakuḍayaperumálun of Gárge(ya) tribe, Šenpakapperumálun of Gárge(ya) tribe, Sarasvatitenuwarapperumálun of Harita tribe, Ulakuḍayaperumálun of Gautama tribe, Timmá Avadhánin of Harita tribe, Bauddhágamachchakravarttin of Harita tribe, Vináyakabhaṭṭaran of Yámadagniwastra tribe, Véda Amátyádhiráyaran of Kúśyapa tribe, Aiḷakku Iraṅkum Perumálun of Kúśyapa tribe, Védaṭṭáyiran of Kúśyapa tribe, A'nandabhaṭṭa Veṅkaḍatturaváran of Harita tribe, Vináyakapperumálun of Harita tribe, Varuṇa jatra chandra Vaittáṅgumperumálun of Vásta tribe, Šenná Ojjhalun of Harita tribe, Śrīrangarájaran of Kaunḍinya tribe, Manila Muturan of Kaunḍinya tribe, Taramalanáðaran of Kaunḍinya tribe, Atharvaṇávédá Bṛihaspatibhaṭṭaran of Kauśika tribe, Veḍumálaiyiṭṭa Perumálun of Kúśyapa tribe, Tirumaraikkóṭṭu Mudaliyáran Náráyaṇabhaṭṭaran of Bháradvāja tribe, Timmaiýaran of Kúśyapa tribe,—the grant of the village, money, trees, shrubs, forests, swamps, fields, and ówiṭas within the hereinafter mentioned four boundaries of the village Koswinna(4) in Siyané kóralé :—to wit, on the east, Galkaduwe road(5), the jak tree, Śin pēn doḷa (a narrow watercourse), Piḷimatalawuwe's pillar(6), and the bund of the tank which belongs to the barber(7); on the south

Kirimēṭiyádoḷa, Talápaḷawila, the high road, and Undugodayás deniya (tract of low land); on the west, Galasiṭiyáwa; on the north, the three-fold jak tree at Baṭadoḷa, the line of branches near the talipot tree, the bund of the tank, Tunmódara eḷa (canal at the junction of three outlets for water), and Galkaḍuwa.

The maintenance of a gift is more meritorious than the bestowal of the gift (itself). The donor attains heaven by means of the gift, while one attains Nīrvāṇa (the everlasting state) through the maintenance of the gift.

A gift is an ornament to all the princes in the world. The earth rendered noble (sacred ?) by virtue of the gift thereof, should not be enjoyed or seized (nor should any tax be imposed thereon).

May future princes, ministers, &c., constantly call to mind the above-cited ancient maxims and cause the perpetuation of this sacred gift which is a meritorious deed.

Granted by inscription caused to be engraved by order during the lifetime of Śrī Parākramabāhu, lord of the illustrious Laṅkā.

Caused to be given in accordance with a previous grant made for the sake of the gods and Buddhas.

(Notes.)

(1) *Wesanga*, derived from *Vaiśákha*, the month in which the moon is full in the constellation *Viśákha*. (April-May).

(2) *Voṭunu* = *veshtana*, a "turban" or "diadem."

(3) *Agrahāra*, a term applied to express an endowment of lands for the benefit of Brahmins.

(4) *Koswinna*, name of a village, meaning a grove or tope of jak trees. Compare this with *Nāvinna*, *Dambavinna*, &c., in which connection *vinna* is evidently derived from the Sanskrit *vanyá*, "a number of groves."

(5) *Māvata* = *mahápatha*, "the high road."

(6) *Temba* = *stambha*, "post," "pillar."

(7) *Neṭwēmiyá* = *nápita* (S.) or *nahápita*, (P.) "barber."

III.—DEVANAGALA INSCRIPTION.*

Devanagala is a village in the Mēdapattu of the Galboḍa Kōrale, Kēgalla District. The inscription on the rock records two grants made for the maintenance of the Devanagala Vihāre—one by Ratanālapkāra Terunnānsē, who founded it in 1567 A.D., and the other by Vimala Dharma Sūryya, who reigned at Kandy between 1685 and 1707 A.D.

ශ්‍රීබුද්ධවර්ණයෙන් දෙදස එකසිය දසවන්තෙහි ධර්මයට දිවි පුද, බුදුබව පතා ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිපත්ති පුජකොට ඉන්නා රතනාලන්කාර තෙරසාමිත් විසින් දෙවනගලලඬු තුන්බෝ, පිහිටුවා විහාරයක් කරවා එ විහාරයට කැතුලත්ඕව්ව ඇල අමුතු බඳවා බිජුවටදැමුනක වපසරිය අස්වද්ද පුජකලබවත් දන මෙලක රජ පැමිනි විමලධර්මසුඤ්ඤ මහරජපුරුවන් විසිනුත් රුවන්දෙනියෙයි(2) යන ගම බිජුවට නව අමුණක වපසරියත් ඉට ඇතුළුව ගොඩත් නොයෙක් ගහකොලත් ඇතුළුව දනලත් ඡණයෙන් සලක්ඡනකොට සන්නස්පත්‍රයක් ලියවා එම දෙවන ගලලඬු කැරවූ විහාරයට පුජකල සෙදි(3)දන මෙ කියන පින් කමට රජ පුවරජ ඇමති මුදලිවරුන්ආදී නොයෙක් අය විසින් මෙකියන පින්කම්වලට අවුලක් උබරණයක් නොකොට නොකරවා මෙපින්කම් අනුමොදන්ව දිව්‍ය මනුෂ්‍යසම්පත් අනුභවකොට තමතමා කැමතිපරිද්දෙන් නිවන්දකින්ට සිතනවා හොඳෙ. එසේ නොයිතා නොයෙක් මෙ විහාරයට දිපු පිදවිල්ලට අවුලක් උබරනයක් කල කී කැරවූ අයෙක් ඇත්නම් අට මහනරකයආදී සතරඅපායෙ දුකට පැමිනෙන්නාසුනම්වෙති. මෙ කියන පින්කම දෙරට සෙනාවම දනිති එපහතත් දන මෙපින්කම්වලට සහයව නිවන් දකින්ට සිතනවා යහපති.

(Transliteration.)

Śrī Buddhavarshayen dedās eka siya dasawannehi Dharmayaṭa divi puḍā budubawa patā āmisa pratipatti pūjā koṭa innā Ratanālapkāra Terasāmin visin Devanagala uḍa tun bō(1) pihītuwā viharayak karawā e viharayaṭa Kēkulan-ōwiṭa ēla amunu bandawā bijuwaṭa dēmunaka wapasariya

* See "Ceylon Friend," 1873.

aswaddá pújákalabawat dēna me Iaka raja pēmini Vimāla Dharma Sūrya maha rajjuruwan visinut Ruwandeniyeyi(2) yana gama bijuwāta nawa amunāka wapasariyat ita etuluwu goḍat noyek gahakolat etuluwa dāna lakshapāyen salakshana-koṭa sannaspatrayak liyawá ema Dewanagala uḍa kērawú vihárayāta pújákala sedi(3) dēna me kiyana pinkamaṭa raja yuvaraja cēmati mudaliwarun ádi noyek aya visin me kiyana pinkamwalāta awulak uddharanāyak nokoṭa nokarawá me pinkam anumodanwa divya manushya sampat annbhawa-koṭa tama tamá kēmati paridden nivan dakinṭa sitanawá honde. Esé nositá noyek me vihárayāta dipu pidavillāta awulak uddharanāyak kala kí karawú ayek et nam āta maha narakaya ádi satara apāye dukāta pēminennāhu nam weti. Ma kiyana pinkama derāta sēnāwama daniti. Epanatata dēna me pinkamwalāta sabāyawa nivan dakinṭa sitanawá yahapatí.

(Translation.)

In the year 2110 of the illustrious Buddhist era, Rataná-lankára Terunnānsé, who devoted his life to religion and offered material and religious gifts in the hope of attaining Buddhahood, established the Three Bódhis(1) on the top of Devanagala, founded a viháre, aswēddumised two amunas' sowing extent of Kēkulan ówiṭa by constructing a dam across the stream, and dedicated it to the said viháre. Having come to know this, His Majesty Vimāla Dharma Sūrya, who succeeded to the throne of Lapká, caused a sannasa to be written, with the usual characteristic marks of a gift, by which he dedicated to the viháre built on the said Devanagala nine amunas' sowing extent in the village of Ruwandeniya(2) together with the high land appertaining thereto, and many trees and shrubs growing thereon. It will be well if kings, sub-kings, ministers, mudaliyárs, and many others, knowing the above fact, will neither injure or destroy, nor cause to be injured or destroyed, any of these meritorious gifts, and if they will be pleased with these meritorious deeds and think of seeing Nirvána, each as he likes, after having enjoyed divine and

human happiness. If there be any persons who, without thinking so, should injure or destroy by word or deed, or cause to be injured or destroyed, the various gifts made to this viháre, they will suffer sorrow in the four(3) states of misery commencing with the eight great Naraka. The above said endowment is known to people of both countries. It will be well if people will bear in mind the terms of the above grant, and think of attaining Nirvána by assisting in the (upkeep of the) said meritorious deeds.

(Notes.)

(1) Three Bódhis :—(a) Monuments, such as Dágabas, erected in memory of Buddha, where his relics are said to be deposited.

(b) The Bó tree (*ficus religiosa*) and other things used by him in his lifetime.

(c) Things erected in memory of his person, such as his images.

(2) Ruvandeniya, a village in the Mēdapattuwa of Galboḍa kóralé.

(3) *Sedi* is a very uncommon word for *bawa* or *waga*, meaning "fact." I think it is a corrupt form of the Tamil *cheyti* or *seydi* (as it is sometimes pronounced), meaning "news," "deed," or "occurrence."

(4) Hell, state of irrational beings, of hobgoblins or departed spirits, and of Asuras, or Titans, enemies of the gods.



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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Tirukkétisvaram, Mahátirtha, Mátoddam, or Mántoddai.—By W. J. S. BOAKE, Esq., C.C.S. 	107
Translation of an Inscription at the Temple at Monnisva- ram.—Note by G. M. FOWLER, Esq., C.C.S. 	118
Note on the “Hil-pen-kandura” at Kandy.—By J. P. LEWIS, Esq., C.C.S. 	120
The Capture of Trincomalee, A.D. 1639.—Translated from the Dutch by F. H. DE VOS, Esq. 	123
A Belgian Physician’s Notes on Ceylon in 1687–89.—Trans- lated from the Dutch by D. W. FERGUSON, Esq. ...	141
Notes on certain Játakas relative to the Sculptures recently discovered in Northern India.—By L. DE ZOYSA, Mada- liyár 	175

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TIRUKKE'TI'SVARAM, MAHA'TI'RTHA,
MA'TO'DDAM, OR MA'NTODDAI.

By W. J. S. BOAKE, ESQ., C.C.S.

(Read November 7, 1887.)

NOTHING remains above ground of this ancient city except a few fragments of sculptured figures, broken tiles, bricks, and pieces of pottery. Its site is entirely overgrown by low dense jungle, the only large trees being a few tanaku and baobab. Indications may still be seen of the old streets, and there are two or three old wells.

The foundations of a brick building, somewhere about the centre of the hill, on which I believe the greater part of the city stood, are pointed out as those of the palace; and the entrance of the temple is said to have been near the old well marked on Plan II.

The Plans which accompany this Paper will give an idea of the locality. The city was built upon a hill, and the natural height of the ground was increased by the excavations necessary to form tanks: or, perhaps, it is more correct to say that the spur of the hill on which the resthouse stands was thus formed.

Tradition says that the city extended to the seashore, and that a considerable part of it is submerged. I have not been

able to find any record of this event; but within the last hundred years there have been at least two considerable encroachments of the sea in this neighbourhood; and I find no difficulty in admitting the tradition to be true, which also alleges that when Tirukkétisvaram was built, the island of Mannár, which is now separated from it by about four miles of shallow water (or mud and sand, as it is in the south-west monsoon), formed part of the mainland.

It is alleged by Suntaramúrthi Náyanár, who sang, or is said to have sung, in the sixth century, that the city was "close to the sea where there are plenty of ships," and if this was so there must have been much deeper water than now. The Mannár channel is said to have been artificially formed, and it is not difficult to understand how its construction may have assisted the encroachment of the sea in both monsoons.

Of the great antiquity of this abode of wisdom and beauty there can be no doubt. From its close proximity to the continent, and the facility of communication by water in both monsoons with Ramésvaram, which at that time was part of the continent of India, the colonisation of this part of Ceylon must have taken place at a very early date.

It is one of the sixty-four sacred places of the Hindús. Its temple rivalled that of Ramésvaram, and was probably built about the same period.

The Siphalese refer to it at a very early date as Mahátírtha. Tirukkétisvaram was, I think, its most ancient name, for it can scarcely be doubted but that Ceylon was first colonised from Southern India, and there was built the great temple dedicated to Siva, as the name implies. Subsequently, when the Aryan invader who had landed in the south made his way northwards and met the Dravidian, the great Siva had to make way for "Tathágata," and the place came to be called Mahátírtha or Mántoḍḍai. Whether the present name Mántoḍḍai is the Siphalese name, or the Tamil word which means either "great garden" or "mango garden," I am not sure. I think it more probable that it is the former. But, as the date of its foundation is lost in obscurity, so also is that of its destruction.

It must have continued in existence after the Siphalese invasion ; for some of the remains are Buddhistic, and it is quite possible—and some of the glass and other things which have been found lend colour to the supposition—that it was included for some centuries in the ancient Kalah, which Mr. Nevill speaks of as under the sway of the Rajahs of Zabedj.*

However this may be, there is nothing to show whether it was submerged, gradually decayed, or sacked and razed by some conqueror. There is a tradition of an Arab invasion and of a great massacre ; and the baobab tree, it is said, was introduced by Arabs as fodder for their camels.

The legend referred to in Hardy's " Sacred Books of the Buddhists " of the submergence of the city of Ráwaná must, I think, refer to a time antecedent to the building of Tirukésvaram, though I am inclined for geological reasons not to reject the legend as altogether untrue. The city must have disappeared at any rate before the sixteenth century ; for, so far as I know, it is not mentioned by the Portuguese, who, however, made use of the ruins of it in laying the foundations of the Fort of Maññár, and of the numerous churches which they built on the mainland and on the island. There is scarcely a village in the district where stones are not to be found which have been removed from this city of the " Three-eyed one."

Inscriptions have been found on some of these stones, of which rubbings were furnished to the Society by Mr. E. M. Byrde, but they have been found so imperfect that it has not been possible to decipher them ; and as they all appear to be in modern Siphalese character, I do not suppose that much would be learnt from them were it possible to do so.

Induced by the discovery of a few coins and other remains to believe that other objects of archæological interest might be found by excavation, I applied to the Society and obtained a small grant, and will now proceed to detail the result of a few days' work. I have not had time yet to do more, but hope to resume excavation before long.

I commenced work with a gang of coolies on December 26. My intention was to cut shallow trenches and run them along until I came to something, but soon found that the difficulty of clearing the thick jungle and opening the hard baked ground—particularly hard near the surface—would run away with the funds at my disposal in a very short time. I therefore decided on making pits here and there.

Excavation was commenced at a spot marked 26 on Plan 2. At a depth of from four to five feet we came upon a layer of remains. The soil about that depth was good, but below five feet it became exceedingly dry—fine sand and ashes, or something like ashes. I thought I had got into a dust-bin—and the numerous fragments of chatties, pieces of bone, and other things looked very like it.

The following is a list of the things excavated this day :—

(1) Fragments of chatties.—I have not been able to find any writing on any of these fragments, and I am unable to say whether they bear any certain evidence of their age. Some of them appear unfinished, and from the presence of some lumps of clay I am led to believe that I had hit upon the site of a potter's dwelling. It will be interesting to compare them with Mr. Parker's specimens from Tissamaharāma. I think that the depth at which they were found alone argues considerable antiquity. A depth of four or five feet in the silt of a tank is not much, but on the top of a hill entirely beyond the reach of floods or cyclonic waves is a good deal, particularly in a dry climate where vegetation is anything but rank.

(2) Bones.—I have not been able to identify these, but they are not human. One is a piece of deer horn.

(3) Enamelled porcelain, of a description which, so far as I know, was never made either in India or Ceylon. It is more like Chinese or Japanese ware. I have some Singapore ware which resembles some of it.

(4) Glassware.—Such as I have seen in the Egyptian Court of the British Museum.

(5) Lumps of quartz.

(6) Refuse of a blacksmith's forge.—One fragment of the calcined covering of iron ore, such as is still turned out by the Kandyan smith when making steel.

(7) Horns of different shapes and sizes.

(8) Fragments of flat tiles.

(9) Flat discs, such as Mr. Parker found at Tissa, and says were used to play "pitch and toss" with. One of them is inscribed, but whether with writing or mere ornamental design I cannot say. I cannot identify the alphabet. Another is pierced through the centre, and might have been the wheel of a child's toy-cart.

(10) Chank shells.—These are very numerous, both whole and sawn into rings.

(11) A piece of soap.—I thought this was a piece of some sandstone, and put it in water to wash it, when I found it to be a coarse sandy soap.

(12) A piece of fine porcelain.

(13) A cowrie.

(14) Burnt clay marbles or pillets.

(15) Cornelian.—This is very common. There are fragments of it all over the place.

(16) Some pieces of talc.

(17) Different pebbles.

(18) Beads.

(19) Copper ore.—This also is common.

(20) Two iron nails.

(21) Glass bangles.—Very common.

(22) Earthenware bottle-necks.—I call them bottle-necks, but I do not think they can be, for they are very numerous: and yet I have not found a single fragment of any other part of a bottle. It has occurred to me that they might have been used as nozzles of blowpipes; and someone has suggested that they were used to hold the moist clay when being moulded.

I have no doubt I should have found plenty more of the same sort of things if I had continued digging in this spot, but the next day I tried another place in the hope of finding

something new. I tried the Plan marked 27, near the present trigonometrical tower, and found :—

(1) Two pearls—a seed pearl and a larger one, worth about fifty cents. These were almost on the surface.

(2) Two copper coins and a fragment.

(3) Pieces of bones and a grindstone, or rather the fragment of the upper stone still used for grinding curry-stuffs.

(4) A round granite stone, which I think must have been used for grinding beads.

(5) Some bones.

(6) More bottle-necks, of somewhat different shape to those found on the 26th. One of them chased.

(7) Beads.

(8) Quartz, cornelian, and pebbles.

(9) Glass bangles.

(10) One fragment of a carved chank ring or bangle.

(11) Fragments of glass.

(12) Piece of glazed pottery (modern).

(13) Two round discs.

(14) One pillet.

(15) One copper nail.

(16) One coral stone for grooming elephants.

These things were all found among the foundations of a building built of coral stone and brick, but not laid in mortar, and most of them at the same depth as the things found on the 26th. The pearls and piece of modern pottery were found near the surface, and may have been dropped there at any time by any one.

I chose to dig here, being informed that it was in this place some gold coins and beads were found. I have not been able to trace the present possessor of the beads, but Mr. Byrde, I believe, has one of the gold coins.*

I hope to be able later on to make some sketches and notes of the scattered stones, but will conclude this communication

* A gold "Iraka" (see Rhys Davids' *Int. Num. Orient.*, vol. I.): The copper coins found were of the "Bull and Fishes" type (Princep, *Ind. Antiquities*, vol. II., p. 423).—*Hon. Sec.*

with a translation, for the correctness of which Phillips Mutaliyár, the Kachchéri Interpreter, is chiefly responsible, of a song sung by Suntaramúrti Náyanár in the sixth century:—

1. O thou who dwellest at Tirukkétisvaram! who knowest the past, present, and future! who, clothed with the skin of the elephant, adorned with the bones of the dead, and armed with the trident, ridest on the bull!—The thirty-three millions of gods do worship thee.

2. O thou who dwellest at Tirukkétisvaram! who, anointed with holy ashes, and with thy black neck encircled by the hide of the elephant, dwellest on the banks of the milky sea with thy wife whose girdle out-flashes the lightning!

3. O thou who dwellest at Tirukkétisvaram! thou whom all divine beings and holy men adore! who wearest the crescent on thy head and the serpent around thy neck, and dwellest at Mátóḍḍam by the sea of many ships!

4. O thou who dwellest at Tirukkétisvaram! Three-eyed one! who reignest on the banks of Pálávi, which throws up heavy waves near Mátóḍḍam, where beetles with beautiful wings make music!

5. O thou who dwellest at Tirukkétisvaram! who removest the sins of thy servants and livest with thy wife Umátévi in the beautiful palace at Mátóḍḍam near the sea, which is surrounded by beautiful golden flowers!

6. O thou who dwellest at Tirukkétisvaram! who cleanseest all the sins of thy servants and grantest to them holiness, and dwellest with thy beautiful wife Umátévi on the banks of Pálávi at Mátóḍḍam near the sea abounding in pearls!

7. O thou who dwellest at Tirukkétisvaram! who removest all the bodily diseases of thy servants! thou who dwellest at Mátóḍḍam near the sky-bound sea with thy wife Umátévi, whose words are sweet as nectar!

8. O thou who dwellest at Tirukkétisvaram! who with thy wife Umátévi reignest on the banks of Pálávi at Mátóḍḍam, where beetles, drunk with honey, dance!

9. O thou who dwellest at Tirukkétisvaram! thou who art

called Three in one and Two in one ! who hast three eyes and reignest on the banks of Pálávi at Mátóḍḍam, which abounds in mangoes ! Remit my sins.

10. I, a native of Tiruvotṭiyúr, which is held in great esteem by men of all religions, am not worthy to sing these ten verses on thee who dwellest at Tirukkétisvaram at Mátóḍḍam surrounded by the sea, where beetles of all kinds make sweet music.

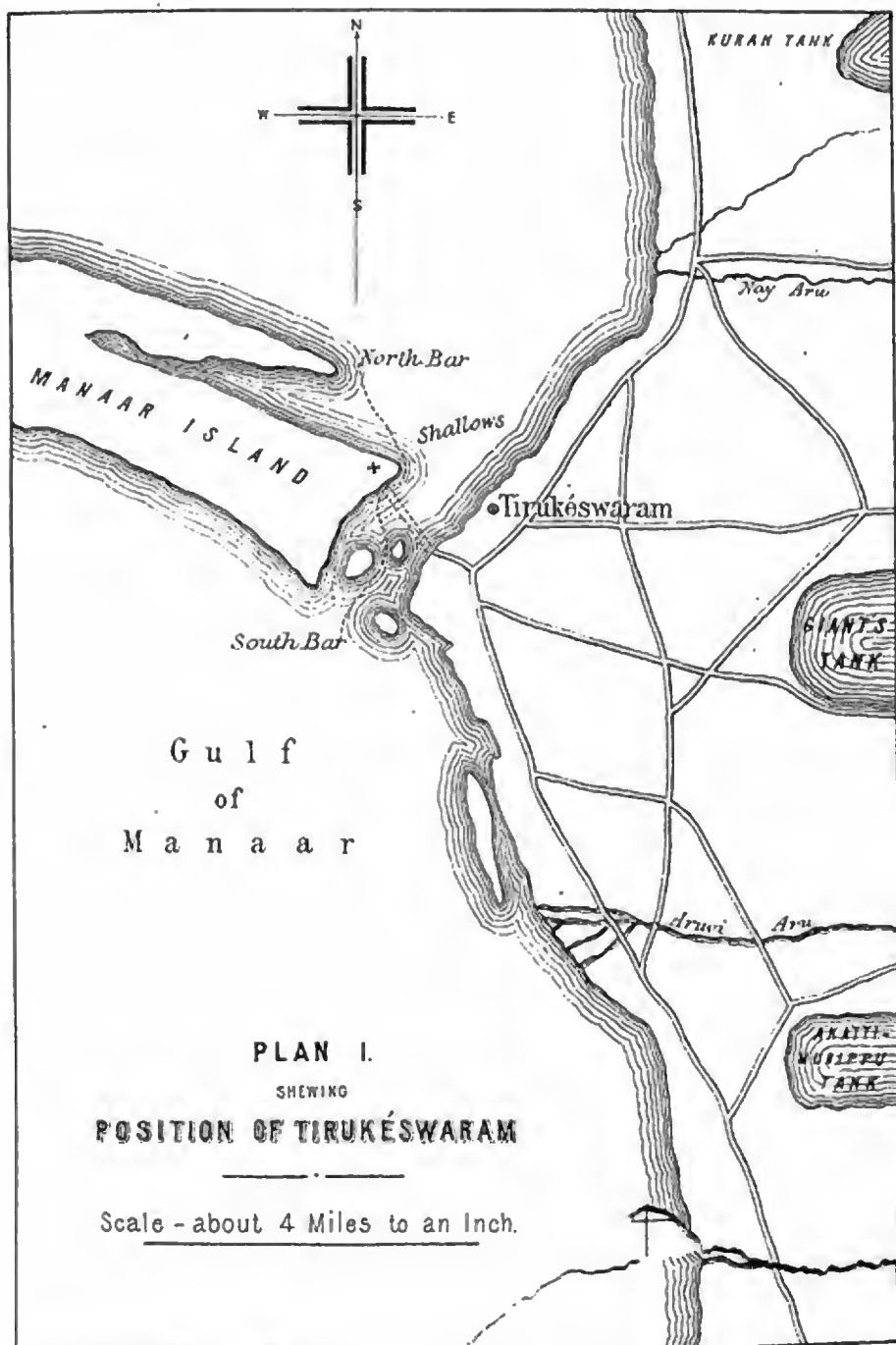
REMARKS ON MR. BOAKE'S PAPER ON THE RUINS OF TIRUKKETÍSVARAM.

BY THE HON. P. RÁMA-NÁTHAN.

THE proper name of the temple is Tirukkétisvaram, or Tirukkétichchuram, in which *Tiru* (a pure Tamil word) means "sacred," "prosperous," or "eminent," and *Kétisvaram* means the residence or temple of the god Kétisvara. I cannot tell for certain what the derivation of Kétisvaram is, but *Kétu* in Sanskrit means, among other things, a banner or standard of distinction, and *I'svaram* is the residence of I'svara or Siva. Nor am I certain that Kétáram in the Himalayas or Kedara-ghat in Benares has any historic or legendary connection with Kétisvaram in Ceylon. The word is formed on the same principle as Rámésvaram, which is divisible into Ráma-I'svaram.

Mr. Boake speaks of Kétisvaram as a city. I do not think it was anything more than a temple, surrounded by a small population of office-bearers and devotees, such as are usually found in the precincts of any Brahmanic temple.

Then, as regards the antiquity of the temple, Mr. Boake is inclined to believe that it was built contemporaneously with Rámésvaram. It is well known that most of the great *stalas*, or holy places, especially temples of India, have each a *purána*, in which its history is given. Tirukkétisvaram had undoubtedly a *purána* at one time, but from inquiries I have





Pond or Villu

Rest House

Ruin Portuguese Church

OLD STREET

Old well

26

Site of Palace

Triangulation Tower

27

H I L L - (dense jungle)

HIGH GROUND

PÁLÁVI

(Now a Salt Lagoon)

P l a i n

PLAN II.

SITE OF TIRUKESARAM

Distance from Sea to
Rest House about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile.



T h e S e a

made I learn that, except a few leaves, nothing more of it is extant. It is admitted on all hands that the period during which the English, the French, and the princes of India were fighting for supremacy in the Deccan, proved very destructive to literary works preserved in the libraries of South India. Perhaps the *purána* I refer to existed before or about the commencement of these wars, say 150 years ago, when Mayilvákāṇam wrote the history of Jaffna, entitled *Yalppána Vaipava Málai*. He lived in the time of the Dutch Governor Maccara (1736), and may have seen the *purána* in question, because it is recorded by him in positive terms in the history of Jaffna that Prince Vijaya, soon after he landed on the shores of Ceylon in the sixth century B.C., "caused to be rebuilt the temple of Terukkétisvaram, which had long been in ruins." That would take us to a much earlier period than 543 B.C., the year of Vijaya's landing. The only event recorded of Ceylon anterior to that event is the reign of Rávana and his subjugation by Ráma. When did these heroes flourish? Válmiki identifies the date of Ráma's birth with the occurrence of an uncommon astronomical fact, from which Bently, in his work on *Hindu Astronomy*, computes that the birth of Ráma must have taken place in 961 B.C. Other authorities assign a much earlier period. As at least 400 years intervened between the time of Ráma and Vijaya, are we justified in believing that the temple of Tirukkétisvaram, even if it had gone to ruins "long before" the landing of Vijaya, did exist in the days of Ráma? Seeing that the *Rámayána* does not, so far as I remember, make mention of it, though lying on the path taken by Ráma to Ceylon, we may conclude that that temple was founded some time after the epoch of Ráma and many years before the advent of Vijaya.

We are, however, treading on firmer ground when we read what is recorded of this temple in one of the most sacred writings of the Tamils, the *Téváram*, which are hymns in praise of Siva sung by Suntra-múrthi and Sampanta-múrthi. When did these divines live? Their lives, like those

of many other apostles of the Saiva religion, form part of a *purāṇa* written by Sekkiḷār-suvāmi. In it is described the rise, development, and overthrow of Jainism and Buddhism in South India. It appears that when Kú-pāṇḍian was on the throne of Madura, the influence of the Jains was so powerful that they succeeded in making a convert of that king to their religion. His queen, however, Maṅkaiyarkkarasi by name, and minister Kulachchirai-nayinār, remained true to their ancestral religion. They persuaded the king to preside at a public controversy between the Jains and the Saivites; and Sampanta-múrtti was the chosen champion of the Saivites. The many arguments which were urged and the miracles performed on that occasion need not be recounted here; but it is enough to say that the Jains were defeated and the king himself reconverted to the religion of Siva. This event is generally placed by native Tamil scholars in the middle of the third century before Christ. European *savants* refer it to the seventh or eighth century after Christ. It is related in the *purāṇa* of Sekkiḷār-suvāmi that, after overthrowing the Jains at Madura, Sampanta-múrtti proceeded to Rámésvaram and sang hymns in praise of Rámanáta, the god enshrined in that temple, and also in praise of Tirukkétisvaram and Tirukkópámalai (Trincomalee). I may incidentally remark that Mr. Boake is not quite right in saying that there are only sixty-four places of worship sacred to the Hindús. There are (including those in ruins) 1,008, of which two only are in Ceylon, namely, Tirukkétisvaram and Tirukkópámalai. Rámésvaram is of course part of India.

I think what I have stated is sufficient to entitle us to believe that Sampanta-múrtti flourished at least as early as 700 A.C. In his hymns he speaks of Tirukkétisvaram as a temple *on the borders of* the city of Mátóḍḍam *along the* Pálávi; and of Mátóḍḍam itself he says that it abounds in gold, pearls, and precious stones, and was full of mango groves, areca trees, and plantain bushes, among which peacocks and monkeys disported themselves. The temple must indeed

have been in a most flourishing condition in 700 A.C., and naturally so judging from the immense activity displayed about that period by the Tamils, politically and religiously. They had then become so powerful that the Siphalese king at Anurádhapura found it prudent to abandon that city and shift his capital to Polonnaruwa. In short, the *Rāja Ratná Kara* records that, in the ninth or tenth century the domination of the Tamils was so complete that every town and village in the Island teemed with them, and that in the whole Island there were not to be found even five Buddhist priests.

I must not omit to state that in the *Mahāvamsa* it is recorded that upon prince Vijayo soliciting for himself the hand of the daughter of the Páñdian king of Madura, the vast retinue of maidens, courtiers, and servants who accompanied her to Ceylon disembarked at a place called Mahátírtha. The author of the *Mahāvamsa* says that the place was so called from the circumstance of a great concourse of people landing there. Sir Emerson Tennent, following this authority, translates the name as the "Great ferry." I think that Mahátírtha is the Páli form of the Sanskrit Mahátírtha, literally "the great water or river." It is usual for most places of pilgrimage or *stalas* to have a *tírtha* or "sheet of water" where devotees may perform their ablutions and purify themselves. In the case of Tiruk-kétisvaram its *tírtha* was the Pálávi or the adjoining sea; and as the temple itself was in ruins, the spot at which the princess of Madura landed could not be better identified than by the name of *Mahátírtha*.

I do not think that Mátóḍḍam is derived from Mahátírtha, but the present name of the town Mántóḍḍai is undoubtedly a compound of *Má* and *tóḍḍam*, just as Púntóḍḍam (flower garden) is a compound of *Pú* and *tóḍḍam*, the *n* intervening according to the laws of Tamil euphony.

TRANSLATION OF AN INSCRIPTION AT THE TEMPLE AT MOṆṆISVARAM.

NOTE BY G. M. FOWLER, ESQ., C.C.S.



HAVE examined the Moṇṇisvaram inscription several times, and much of it is illegible. It has, I think, been removed from an older building and built into the present one. Several of the letters near the joints of the stones are covered by the mortar, which would not be the case if it had been cut *in situ*. The inscription runs along a kind of cornice, and consists of only four lines, extending for about thirty or forty feet. Its height from the ground is about four feet.

In digging a tank near the temple two pieces of sculpture were found : a bull's head and an image of (?) "Suppiramaṇiyaṇ." These did not appear to be very ancient.

There is a case in the Chilaw court, I believe, in which the inscription is evidence.

TRANSLATION.

"Let happiness be ! On the tenth day of the waxing moon in October, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, His Majesty Sri Parākrama Bāhu,* descendant of the illustrious family of Sri Saṅgabōdhi, worshipper of the lotus-feet of Sri Samantapātra (Buddha), of Solar race, king of kings, serpent to the royal and mercantile races, and emperor of the three worlds, invited to the Jayawardhana Kōṭṭa† the Nampimār (priests) who officiate before the god of Moṇṇisvaram, and addressing himself to the Brahmin Paṇḍit, who is a proficient in all sciences amongst them, inquired into the circumstances of

* Sri Parākrama Bāhu VI., 1410-1452 A.D.

† The modern Kōṭṭé.

that temple and bestowed the lands which formerly belonged to the priests, lying within the district of Moṇṇisvaram in the holy name, and as the property of the god. As púsai lands he granted to the priests 22 amaṇams of field at Ilippedeniya, and 30 amaṇams in Kottapiṭiya to Mutanmai (chief priests), and 8 amaṇams of field in Tittakkadai, with the inhabited places and forests appertaining to this. In addition to the offering of 3 nális of rice, he granted 30 fanams to the priests *per mensem* and 11 fanams to each of the Mutanmais (chief priests) for the daily offerings of vegetable curries, greens, and perfumes, to be enjoyed from generation to generation while the sun and moon exist, as *Sarvamāṇiyam* (free gift) to the god of Moṇṇisvaram, which is hereby decreed to be irrevocable. Those who cause any damage to the land will be guilty of *Pañchamahápātakam* (the five great sins), while those who take an interest in it will attain heavenly bliss."


Here follows a *Sulókam*, the translation of which is:—

"To this effect this was caused to be inscribed by Parákra-man through the grace of Moṇṇisvarar, who is an ocean of wisdom in Saiváism and lord of all the different classes of gods."

NOTE ON THE "HI-L-PEN-KANDURA" AT
KANDY.

BY J. P. LEWIS, ESQ., C.C.S.

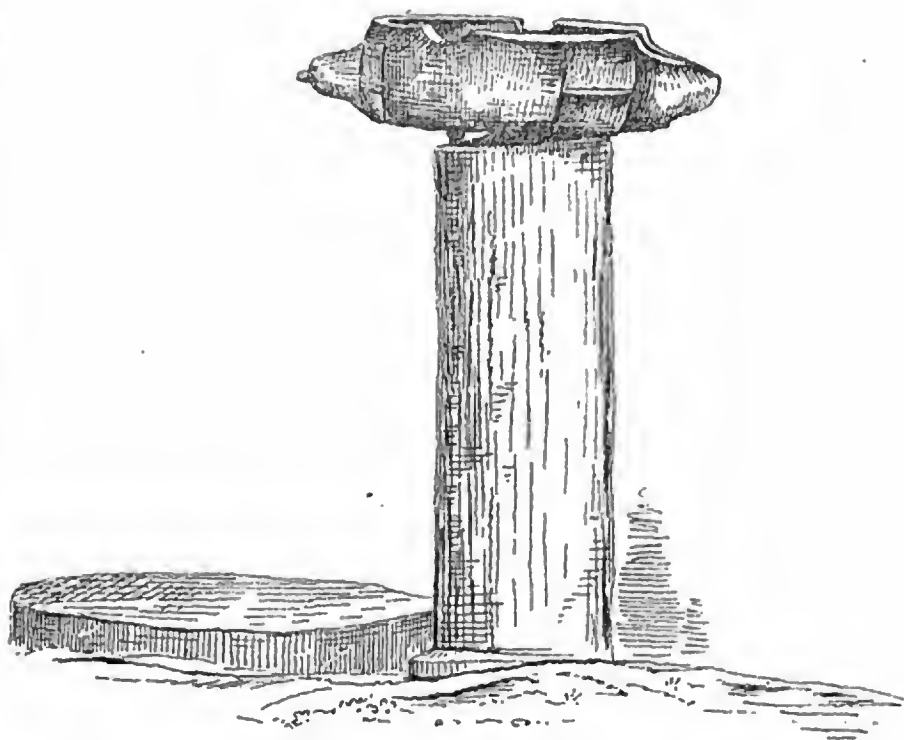
(Read December 23, 1887.)

HE recent heavy rains carried away a portion of the banks of the stream which falls into the Kandy lake at the Ampitiya end, and laid bare some stonework which evidently belonged to an old bathing-place of some importance.

This consisted of a massive stone conduit about 14 ft. long, a stone basin of about the circumference of a cart-wheel, a stone pillar a little over 5 ft. high, on which this basin had evidently stood, and a large flat stone at the foot of the pillar for the bather to stand on. (See plan of restored work.)

The only thing found actually *in situ* was the pillar, but the basin was found close to it. All this stonework was found some feet out of the course of the present stream and in the bank above it, so that the course of the stream must have been diverted since the bathing-place was used. Scattered about were found several cut stones. In the bank behind the site of the pillar there appear to be the remains of a wall.

The basin is a contrivance to allow of three people bathing at the same time, each standing under a spout, the water flowing into the basin through an aperture on the fourth side, which was no doubt connected with the conduit; the pillar is square at the back and rounded on the outer side, so that it probably stood against the masonry wall referred to. It is just high enough to allow a person to stand underneath



The "Hil-pen-kandura," as restored



the spouts of the basin placed at the top. Very likely there was a large flat stone under each spout, though only one seems to have been found. One or two other stones have a channel cut or worn at the side as if they had been fixed under a spout.

The name of this stream is *Hil-pēn-kandura*, "cold water stream." It is said to be the best water of any round Kandy town (Raṭemahatmayá's report of October 5, 1874). Until a few years ago it was a favourite bathing-place of the Kandy people, but the opening of the new Gregory road diverted the course of the stream in some places, and made the old bathing-place, which was situated a short distance lower down the stream, unsuitable for public use.

A spout which, according to the Raṭemahatmayá, had existed there from time immemorial, was removed by the municipality some years ago, and although a new one was put up it did not last long. The stream is much fouled by dhobies, of whom there is a whole colony in Ampitiya. A portion of it has been diverted to a private bathing-place, and the old bathing-place is not now used.

This seems to have been known as "the king's spout," and, according to prevailing traditions, the Kandyan kings preferred the water of this stream for bathing in to any in Kandy. Probably the real "king's spout" is the bathing-place that has just been discovered. Although hidden from view for generations, its name remained, and in course of time began to be applied to the other "spout" lower down, which had not disappeared.

The last king of Kandy granted the land about these bathing-places to a tenant, who held it by the tenure of watching the spout for the palace.

It is to be regretted that the present tenant has removed the pillar, basin, and flat stone to the compound of his house, a short distance off. He had to employ an elephant for the purpose. There will not be much difficulty in having them replaced. It is needless to remark that the land about this stream ought never to have been sold by the Crown.

I annex copy* of a rather high-flown but well-meaning letter addressed to the Government Agent some years ago by Mr. Abeyeratna, a former Gravets muhandiram, on the subject of this stream. The scheme he suggests was never carried out, and the dhobies have won the day, for although the Queen's Advocate was of opinion that they might be prosecuted under the Nuisances Ordinance, no steps have ever been taken to proceed against them, and they have now full possession of the lower part of the stream, just before it falls into the lake.

The man who was in charge of the stream was called *Hil-penkandurá*, a name rather absurdly formed from the name of the stream itself.

The man in charge of the bathing-place was called *Wahalkadayá*, which means "door-keeper."

Descendants of both these functionaries are living at Ampitiya at the present day. They have sold the lands which their ancestors held by this tenure to dhobies.

There is a descendant of the *Hil-penkandurá* called Alugollégedara Bodiyá : he is a temple tenant, and is of Panniya (toddy-drawer) caste. He is a peon in the fiscal's office.

A man called Wahalkadagedara Siñño is a descendant of the "gate-keeper," as his name "gate-keeper family" shows. He is of the tom-tom beater caste, and is a beggar.

According to information given to the Raṭemahatmayá by the Maha Náyaka of the Malwatta Viháre, it was the king's custom to proceed to this bathing place on Wednesdays.

December, 1887.

*EXTRACT from Report of the Ratémahatmayá of Lower Hléwáhefa to
the Hon. the Government Agent, Kandy, dated December 12, 1887.*

.....It is believed that during the reign of King Kírti-śrī he caused the waters of all the natural springs in the vicinity to be weighed and tested, and the water of this *Hilpenkandura* was found to be the best of all. So his Majesty ordered that this stream should be kept exclusively for the royal household, and no one was allowed (except those of the royal household) to use it.

The king also ordered a bath-room to be built there, surrounded with a strong wall, and a gate leading to it ; and also appointed two officers — one to watch the *kandura* and one to guard the gate ; and his Majesty made it a rule to proceed thither every Wednesday in a palanquin followed by procession of tom-tom beaters, musicians, and others. This rule was followed by his successors.



THE CAPTURE OF TRINCOMALEE,
A. D. 1639.

Extracts from the Journal of the Commander Antonio Caen.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH BY F. H. DE VOS, ESQ.
(*Read, November 17, 1887.*)

APRIL 18, 1639.—About evening arrived in the Bay of Coutijar, leaving to starboard the Portuguese Fort of Trincomalee, lying in a sandy bay between two headlands jutting out into the sea. Inside the bay on the same side were some islets or rocks bounding the passage through which we had to sail, about S. to W. and N. to E. Anchorage for sailing right into the bay good and deep, being 10 to 11 fathoms quite close to land. After anchoring, Vice-Commander Coster went ashore at Coutijar with some blacks. In the meantime the Governor of Samantura came on board, having left Batticaloa on the 12th. Being interrogated by the Commander on the position and nature of this place and the state of the Fort of Trincomalee, he gave little information, apologised for the tardy arrival of his people and said that he had never in his life been here, nor as yet spoken with the Prince of this place. Ho therefore desired to go to him and promised, when he got further information, to report it early next morning. So he returned to land and nothing further took place that evening.

April 19.—In the forenoon Vice-Commander Willem Jacobsz Coster and the Fiscal Gerard Herbors having rowed ashore to ascertain whether the Prince of this place (who was unwell, having suffered with sore-eyes for the last five years) would come on board to deliberate with the Commander touching the attack on the Fort of Trincomalee, and what steps should be taken to conquer it, the aforesaid Prince came on board the Admiral's yacht "Armuyden" with one

of his sons and his brother, in company with the Vice-Commander Coster and the Fiscal. He said that the Fort of Trincomalee had three bastions. On that to the landside there were six guns, and on the bastion which commanded the inside of the bay also six guns. Upon the seaside bastion there were two guns, which could scour the bay over some rocks. They were all of iron, shooting 5 to 6 lb. iron, having been taken from a certain Danish ship which was wrecked here on a rock about twenty years ago. The garrison stationed there consisted of forty European-Portuguese, also blacks and Mestices to the number of about a hundred or little more. There were among them about thirty married men with their wives and children. The extent of the Fort was about as great as that of Batticaloa. The walls on the side facing the inner bay were about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 fathoms high, built of black and hard stone, and on the Pagoda side about 4 to 5 fathoms high and 5 cubits thick. There was, besides, a suitable place where one could safely land with men and guns beyond the reach of their cannon. In order to sail in safely it was right that we should reconnoitre the place with some of our boats. The question, therefore, having been put whether one hundred of our soldiers would be able to land there without peril, (the Governor) replied, laughing, that the Portuguese had not one hundred in the Fort, and that they would not have the courage to meet so many soldiers, as he himself intended that day to provision his blacks and land them that evening or early next morning, and to maintain them without any assistance from us. They consisted of four hundred Coutijar soldiers and workmen and five hundred soldiers from Batticaloa, who were to unite at the place where we intended encamping, and to bring there a quantity of long straight poles to make ladders of, and to see that there should be in readiness a goodly number of baskets to carry earth in. As regards provisions and ammunition, those in the Fort were well provided, and had resolved (so it was understood) to stand to the end and defend themselves to the last man.

April 20.—In the morning at break of day, Vice-Com-mander Coster, the Fiscal Herbers, Captain-Major Martin Scholtes, and Sea-Captain Daniel Jansz, with seven boats rowed to a certain enclosed bay lying about 3 miles N.N.W. from the ships, in order to inspect not only the situation of that place and how they could land their men and guns there without resistance, but also how the Fort and its outposts could be safely attacked and besieged most advantageously. On their way in to the aforesaid bay they found it at the mouth 30 fathoms deep with a strong coral bottom, and, stretching from the east point a little inwards, a small stony reef with a depth of not more than 3 fathoms, which could easily be avoided by hugging the west coast a little. In the middle, opposite the bay, the anchorage was mostly good from 20 to 6, 5, and 4 fathoms, rising by half and whole fathoms, and the ships could lie right against land and sail at pleasure backwards and forwards, and the boats come so close to shore that one could step out without wetting the feet. The land was moreover, thickly overgrown with scrub. The roads and footpaths, which in some places were somewhat narrow, were, however, strong and level, so that ordnance could easily be taken over them—only the wild growth had to be cut away on the sides and the paths made broader. The Fort, so far as we could see, had three bastions: one on the west side commanding the bay in which lay five to six boats like *chamboox*, and others of a smaller build. Close to land, the beach being nice, white, and sandy, a little in shore stood some houses roofed with *atap*. Here it was possible to effect a landing under fire from their cannon, by means of small boats, the land on the south side being higher than the Fort, so that some guns could be placed on that eminence and fired from above into the Fort. The bastion at the north end of the Fort is intended to guard against the attack of a force from the main land. They inspected it so closely, that if a person who was known to them had appeared on it they would have been able to recognise him amongst the others. The wood was so thick

under the ramparts that a musket could not have been fired through it. They could not inspect the third bastion, lying sea-girt eastwards, so well as the others : I shall not dwell on it further.

When they had thus inspected these bastions, the Governor of Samantur  came to see them there. He told the Vice-Commander Coster, Fiscal Herbers, and Major Scholtes, that he had that night received letters from His Imperial Majesty, in which his Majesty enjoined him to provide all the Hollanders who came under his jurisdiction with every necessary, and to do everything which they should desire him to. His Majesty also said that Don Balthazar and his other officers did not, when close to Colombo, treat us as we ought to have been treated, on which account he believed we had gone away from there ; and he was thus deprived of a glorious victory which, with the aid of the Dutch, was in his hands, as the Portuguese had deserted Maluane and other Forts lying there about to defend Colombo in a body. Therefore his officers were to blame that he did not become master of the said Fort. The aforesaid Governor further stated that His Majesty had, for this reason, imprisoned Don Balthazar and his followers in Kandy, being dissatisfied with what they had done, and was so enraged that no one could approach him and scarcely dared speak to him.

April 21.—In the morning the yachts “Ryswijck” and “De Zeeusche Nachtegael” sailed with Vice-Commander Coster to sound the N. E. side of the Fort of Trincomalee, and returned to the fleet about 1 o’clock in the afternoon. It was gathered from his report that on that side the anchorage was bad, so that the ships could not anchor there, as right under the walls of the aforesaid Fort some Portuguese boats lay moored. The yachts had scarcely returned to the fleet anchored opposite Coutijar, when there arose such a violent storm from the east that the vessels, notwithstanding that they had two anchors, were driven before it, so that their sterns were exposed to the fury of the surf ; and if the wind, which was very violent for two hours, had

continued, they would, without doubt, have been driven ashore. But the Almighty averted this and saved us from such a calamity.

After the weather was a little settled and the ships had their masts and yards up again, the Commander weighed anchor and sailed into the enclosed bay that was yesterday sounded and inspected by the Vice-Commander Coster. The wind was from the S.W. In sailing to the mouth of the bay they found scarce any deep bottom. In sailing in one ought to avoid the east side a little, as from it (as before mentioned) extends a rocky reef where there is not more than 3 fathoms water. So that in truth the ship "Henrietta Louisa" ran aground there, but by God's help got off uninjured. The ships "Utrecht" and "Oudewater" remained opposite Coutijar, owing to some mishap or other unknown to us. The rest of the fleet came into the bay over about 3, 4, or 5 fathoms water to the east side, and brought up in good anchorage, safe and sound.

April 22.—A little before day the Commander sent four boats from the fleet to Coutijar to accompany the ships "Utrecht" and "Oudewater" if they could sail here stealthily. The other boats were sent ashore by him about 1.30 o'clock with skilled sailors and some sixty soldiers, that he might accompany them himself and inspect the situation of the Fort in order to be more fully and better informed about it by seeing it with his own eyes, and thus come to a surer resolution. This was most advantageous and beneficial to the Company.

Therefore, having landed with the Fiscal Gerard Herbers and the aforesaid soldiers, they inspected the Fort on all sides within musket shot both from under the walls through the undergrowth and from the open beach, so that one could easily hear them speaking to each other in the Fort and telling each other that we were there. The Commander also ordered his trumpeter to play "Wilhelmus van Nassau" on the open beach, so that they could hear it easily. They thereupon fired on us twice. The first ball did not reach

us, and we could not see where the second fell. But by the feeble report of the gun we easily learnt that they could not be well provided with arms. Having at noon gone back on board from land found that the ships "Utretch" and "Oudewater" had arrived, bringing with them some blacks from Coutijar with the Governor of Samantur  and his soldiers and workmen. He at once came on board the Admiral's yacht "Armuyden," to inform him that there had been sent to his army from the King of Kandy two persons to announce to us His Majesty's (intended) arrival.

April 23.—Early in the morning Vice-Commander Coster and Captain-Major Martin Scholtes went ashore with about forty sailors and a good number of soldiers to cut the growth of creepers on the sides of the road a little, so as to fit it for the transport of cannon and mortars, and to select a good spot to encamp, and, further, to throw up a battery. Those in the Fort fired shots at our workmen from some *volkaens* and guns, without doing us any injury the whole day. There was also sent from the Fort a certain *manschouw*, in which were about thirty blacks, so far as we could make out. These rowed straight to where our men were working in their ambuscade unconscious how many there were of us to receive them. When they came sufficiently within range our men fired on them with their muskets, whereby every one in the *manschouw* was disheartened, and leaving some oars floating about retired to the Fort. In the afternoon Commander Caen again went ashore to inspect afresh the situation of the Fort, and to find a suitable place whence to bombard the batteries and approaches to the Fort till they became masters of it. Those from within fired again three or four times with their heavy guns on us, but, as before, injured nobody.

April 24.—At daybreak a good party of sailors and soldiers went ashore again to build some batteries, under the superintendence of Vice-Commander Coster, in order that as soon as our guns were landed an attempt might be made on the Fort, and chiefly to prevent those within the Fort from

attacking and harassing our workmen with the aforesaid *manschouw*. For this purpose two *prince* guns were sent ashore, but before they could be brought into proper position those from the Fort appeared in the *manschouw* at the place where our men were busy together raising some batteries. They approached making a great noise and shouting as they rowed to the shore, firing some shots with their rifles and muskets into the scrub, thinking that our men were there. A sentry (who had been ordered to screen himself behind a tree) exposed himself through curiosity, and was so wounded in the head by a bullet that he died soon after. There was no further loss that day.

In the afternoon the Commander went ashore again to visit the works already constructed by us. There were three casemates ready provided with a battery 8 ft. high and 7 ft. broad: the fourth was also begun. Some intrenchment walls along the shore, were almost finished for the purpose of mounting there the two aforesaid *prince* guns, to prevent those in the Fort from using any boats in the west bay.

April 25.—In the forenoon those from within the Fort came out again with a *prauw* containing five persons, who landed on a certain rock lying in the west bay between the Fort and our works. They fired some shots with their muskets on our workmen and wounded one of our soldiers in the thick of his leg. A rifle shot from us killed a black who had exposed half his body on the rock; so that only four men returned to the Fort. In the evening our men had ten loopholes ready, four of which were bound round with palisades, but not quite filled with earth and twigs. Those from the Fort did not this day fire more than two shots with their heavy guns on our workmen and soldiers.

April 26.—In the forenoon our men were still busy filling the aforesaid four batteries, those from within again firing on the men working at them. In the afternoon were much disturbed with guns, musket, and cannon shots. The balls picked up by some of our men were mostly of

stone, from which we concluded that they were very short of round-shot. Our men were not still, but seized the opportunity to fire with two *prince* guns (shooting 6 lb. iron) at certain outworks which the enemy were busy building about the gate. We made our muskets tell where any advantage could be gained. By this mutual firing two men were wounded on our side—a sailor in his cheek, the bullet lodging in the—*, and a soldier slightly in his leg—besides a black, who was killed in the morning by a shot from the heavy guns. One of the lead bullets that came to our hands was found to have been chewed by the enemy and fired at us contrary to all the rules of war. About evening two *halve-cartouwen* shooting 18 lb. iron were brought ashore from the “Henrietta Louisa,” for which already two platforms were in readiness and two more of the same kind were made next day. The batteries and loopholes were made to the number of ten, and were ready, except the escarpment of the platform, for which already some beams were in readiness, and daily more and more were brought. Further, there sailed from here the yachts “Ryöswyck” and the “Nachtegael” to cruise about the seaside of the Fort of Trincomalee and to prevent any communication with the besieged or their being assisted by boats.

April 27.—At night the besieged broke a sort of roof which was over the entrance to the gate of the Fort, hurling at times some burning stuff from their walls (to make us) keep away from them, and now and then fired some musket shots. In the morning they fired very little, but in the afternoon continually. Some shots were therefore fired with heavy cannon, guns and muskets, but without injuring any one. Our men continued making their trenches and batteries with great zeal, having in the short time that we had been there done an incredible amount of work under fire of the enemy's muskets. There were also brought ashore from the “Utrecht” two brass *halve-cartouwen* shooting 24 lb.

* Lacuna in M.S.

April 28.—In the forenoon there arrived here in the bay the yachts "Rÿswÿck" and the "Nachtegael," having in their cruise met and set right the yacht "Klein Amsterdam" coming from Batticaloa with the Ambassador Sr. Jacob Compostel, who brought with him an untranslated letter from His Imperial Majesty of Ceylon: as it could not be read, His Majesty's intention could not be rightly gathered. The aforesaid Compostel reported that His Majesty had resolved to lie close to Colombo in the low lands with his principal force, that he was master of the field there, and that the Portuguese had deserted the Fort Maluane and Manicawara; also that His Majesty had drawn to his side many inhabitants of the low-lands, who, should he leave the place, would easily be brought to ally themselves with the Portuguese; that he could not therefore appear in person at Coutijar, but would send here some great Mudaliyâr with 4,000 soldiers to conquer with our assistance the Forts Trincomalee and Jaffnapatnam. The ships "Utrecht," "Wassenaer," and "Egmond" were cleared of their remaining provisions, ammunitions of war, and men, and got in readiness to sail to Batavia.

In the afternoon the Commander went ashore, when all the soldiers (the deaths of many of whom had much reduced the strength of the Company's forces,) were divided into three companies, each seventy strong. The rest of the soldiers armed with guns, and some experienced sailors, formed another company. These troops having been mustered on land, the Commander went to the batteries and entrenchments, where he was surprised that such a large work had been thrown up by so small a number of men in such a short space of time. There were three or four shots fired at us without injury. We were busy on land in the meantime in getting our defences ready by May 1. There were, accordingly, landed from the "Utrecht" two more brass *halve-cartouwen* shooting 18 lb. iron. The besieged, although they fired several shots with guns, muskets, and cannon, did not do us the least injury, as we were defended by the batteries and ramparts and the natural situation and position of the land.

April 29.—There came a certain *manshouw* with news from His Majesty of Ceylon to the respective Governors of Samanturé and Coutijar, but the real intelligence was hidden from us. The Commander brought ashore from the "Utrecht" four *halve-cartouwen*, with which the loopholes of our batteries were strengthened. The yachts "Rÿswÿck" and the "Nachtegael" sailed out again to cruise in front of the bay of Trincomalee, so that all help from Jaffnapatnam should be cut off from the enemy.

April 30.—Our men were at work, and mounted ten brass *halve-cartouwen*, four of 24 lb. and six of 18 lb., well supplied with gunners, musketeers, ammunition, powder, and other requisites for playing on the Fort. Being fully prepared for defence (it was resolved) to attack the enemy next morning (although the Fort could have been bombarded three days ago with little firing), and to force them to surrender. The "Klein Amsterdam" and "Oudewater" were to be keel-hauled, as they leaked badly, and were not sea-worthy.

May 1.—In the morning, an hour before day, all the soldiers being landed, fully armed, the Commander himself landed by a certain *tancke*. He drew up in battle array all our soldiers there, under fire from the enemy's cannon (but so that they could not be seen through the scrub round the Fort) with the object that, if the besieged made a sally or came to parley, they might assist those in the batteries and trenches and be in readiness for any emergency. Accompanied by the Fiscal Gerard Herbers and the Sea-Captain Lourens Lourensz, he went to our trenches and batteries to inspect some points which the gunners, by continually firing, could breach to the best advantage. Having, therefore, found everything well arranged, it was deemed expedient that the chief attack should be directed against the northern bastion St. Jago; but in the meantime they were busy firing at the cannon on the bastion St. Cruz (which extended somewhat westwards), so that the besieged might not be able to use them, and their efforts might be rendered fruitless. Having fired a broadside four or five times on the

aforesaid bastions, as if they were firing their muskets, the Commander (as there was no seeing on the batteries in consequence of the smoke) went a little south to windward of our batteries to certain well-situated rocks, from where he could conveniently see each cannon shot on either side and note its result. Having remained there about an hour or an hour and a half, the besieged were so weakened by our cannon shot, that they could use none of their guns, but only fired volleys from their muskets now and then. After three hours' bombarding, such a breach was made in the bastion St. Jago that one could have entered it without any danger. Our Commander, therefore, having returned to our works with Vice-Commander Coster, resolved to send Lieut. Blaauw with a drummer and white flag of peace and truce to those in the Fort, to tell them that it was in our power, and should be surrendered on favourable terms, and that if they delayed doing so he would take it by storm and spare no one, but would hand over everyone as a prey to the Cingalese, and that from them nothing save a great massacre was to be expected. They could therefore adopt such resolution as they deemed expedient. Lieut. Blaauw having set out of our works on his mission, and gone so close that he could easily speak to those in the Fort, was not allowed any audience; for they shouted so loud that we could hear them in our batteries "*Retire vos! Comoude retire! Retire!*" and incontinently fired four or five times on the Lieutenant and drummer with their guns; thus violating a rule common to all nations, namely, to admit to audience a man bearing a white flag. The Commander gave orders to fire on the enemy briskly till about 4 in the afternoon, and made every preparation for storming next morning the bastion St. Jago and the curtain close to the bastion St. Cruz, in such manner as was resolved and approved in full Council on board.

Resolution.—In the yacht "Armuyden" lying in the bay opposite Trincomalee, dated Sunday, May 1, 1639. Whereas to-day, in consequence of our continued firing at the Fort of

Trincomalee with ten *halve-cartouwen* and two *prince* guns, we have reaped such advantage that the greatest bastion, St. Jago, is for the most part demolished, so that through the breach made it could be safely scaled without any ladders; and seeing that all their guns by which they could in any way injure us are shot away from the ramparts and lie unlimbered to the number of eighteen, so that no one of the enemy dares show himself close to them; and further, considering that since about 10 o'clock in the forenoon not a shot has been fired by them with their cannon at us, and that they have abandoned their ensigns and flags which have been shot down, and have not had the courage to set them up again, it is unanimously resolved and thought fit by the Heer Commander and full Council, to get everything ready this night for a storm, and to carry out the same next morning at day-break, provided that before commencing the storm all the guns which can attack the neck of the curtain close to the bastion St. Cruz shall be placed there to make by cannon shot a breach between the two bastions St. Jago and St. Cruz, so that they may not on that side assist each other. The storm shall proceed as follows:—

First of all shall march the musketeers consisting of soldiers	...	...	Men.
		...	20
There shall join them under the command of Willem Domburg and Henricus Sieuwertz, armed each with four grenades, lance, and sabre, sailors	...		10
Then shall follow, armed as above, to carry the wounded sailors	...	...	54
After this shall march the Major's Company	...		70
With brave sailors armed with lance and sabre	...		100
All under the command of Vice-Commander Coster and the aforesaid Major. There shall then be ready in battle array a reserve troop under the command of the Commander accompanied by the Fiscal Gerard Herbers and the Upper Merchant Jacob Compostel, consisting of the two remaining companies, each 70 strong, together	...		140
Altogether, soldiers and sailors	...		394

For the protection of the batteries 120 musketeers and gunners, who are especially to be on them during our bombardment and to fire at the bastion St. Jago	...	...	Men.
			120
Altogether for this undertaking, soldiers and sailors	...	...	514

The rest of the sailors are ordered to be in charge of the ships, to carry ammunition to and fro in the batteries, and to be stationed on the cruising yachts.

(Signed) ANTONIO CAEN, &c.

The Council was now busy discussing whether the storm should be commenced only on the breach made in the bastion St. Jago which seemed to command the other, or a breach also made in the curtain close to the bastion St. Cruz, and thereby separate these bastions from the others, and, as far as possible, prevent access from all sides to the place where we intended to commence storming of persons who might come to defend the bastion St. Jago.

There now came to the Admiral's yacht "Armuyden" with the Head Merchant Jacob Compostel two Portuguese Captains sent by Major Scholtes. These were admitted to our works with a white flag of truce, and declared that they were sent by Captain Moer from the Fort to our Captain-General to excuse the ignorance and inexperience of some of their soldiers who had shot at our Captain several times from the Fort when he was coming with a flag of peace, as they were ignorant of the custom of war, or did not understand it. The Hon. Commander should be pleased to take it in good part as the offenders were in custody for it, and would be punished. The Commander replied that that was not sufficient, but desired that they should be handed over to him, that so he might punish them himself, in as much as the affront was to him and not to the enemy. They were asked whether they desired anything further, and whether they did not come to negotiate with him concerning the surrender of the Fort which they were not able any longer to defend. They answered that they were *Captains de Hera*, and rather than

thus surrender the Fort would fight till they died, boasting presumptuously and mightily about their force, which they said still consisted of three hundred European soldiers in the Fort, and that not more than one black, a Canarese, was killed, and uttering other blustering words. Hereupon the Commander again and often advised them to surrender their Fort, promising them favourable conditions, and to think of what they were doing, as he intended to attack the fort in the morning at break of day, and, with God's help, to capture it, when he would kill every one he found therein. But notwithstanding, they still persisted in their brag and bluster. The Commander allowed them therefore to return ashore with the Fiscal Gerard Herbers, and to remain the night in our guard-house until his arrival next morning.

May 2.—In the morning at sunrise everything (as before mentioned) was ready for the storm, the soldiers and sailors were all landed in order, and the Commander came with two companies of soldiers to our works. There then appeared on the shore a *padre* with another person carrying a flag of truce. This person being admitted into the presence of the Commander and asked what he wanted, said he had come there to surrender the Fort to His Honour, but on condition that all the Portuguese Mestices and their slaves, with their goods and chattels, be allowed to go to such places as the Commander should think right. The Commander thereupon replied that if he came to deliver the Fort to him he ought to produce the keys, whereupon the aforesaid *padre* (named Bernardus) said that if the Commander be pleased to allow them to take with them the *Carias* they were prepared to send at once for the keys. This was done. As regards the *Carias* the Commander said that they must remain in the Fort and serve us as they had served the Portuguese, but the others were allowed to go, with their goods, save arms and ammunition of war, within a year to Tranquebar and Nagapatnam, but not to Jaffnapatnam or any other place in Ceylon from where they can again return to serve against us. When the *padre* had gone into the Fort the Commander drew up his

men, soldiers and sailors, fully armed on the open ground in front of the Fort, in such array as though he were about to storm it. Hereupon the *padre*, fearing that we should commence the storm, returned at once with most of the *Carias* and delivered the keys of the Fort to the Commander, who thereupon entered it with guns and a company of soldiers and ordered the surrendered to leave all their arms inside the Fort and sign their names on a roll.

Whilst we were under the Fort in battle-array, the Commander ordered Vice-Commander Coster (the *padre* being with us) to see by way of experiment whether he could mount the breach made in the bastion with safety. It was done so easily, that the storming of the Fort would not have been a very difficult matter for us. On entering the Fort the Governor with his Captains and soldiers came to meet the Commander and delivered to him, as victor, his silver-gilt rapier, which the Commander took, and after inspecting it, returned it to the Governor, who considered this an act of great courtesy. They now entered and found that both on the St. Jago and St. Cruz bastions eight guns had not only been shot away from the ramparts, but were nearly buried beneath the heap of stones and *débris* which our guns had caused. The Commander at once gave orders that there should be erected on the top of the mast a little tower expressive of their great joy; which was done: meanwhile the well-known strains of "Wilhelmus van Nassau" were played, in honour of our victory, the soldiers joining in chorus.

We had scarcely been in the Fort two hours when there came here from the King of Kandy the two Mudaliyárs with about 3,000 men, although His Majesty had before this written that he would send us 4,000 men for the purpose of capturing Trincomalee and Jaffnapatnam. These Mudaliyárs brought with them some letters from His Majesty addressed to the Commander, the contents of which were of no particular moment; but he referred to the letter and verbal reports of the Captain of the Fort of

Batticaloa or the Ambassador Compostel, at whose desire he was sending the present reinforcement hoping that it would be powerful enough to conquer the Forts of Trincomalee and Jaffnapatnam. Having talked with these chiefs for some time on various matters concerning the state of Jaffnapatnam, permission was sought to go back to their encampment. After they had been escorted out by the Vice-Commander Coster and the Fiscal Herbers, Capt. Major Scholtes and Head-Merchant Compostel, the Commander summoned from on board the ship "Henrietta Louisa" the Comforter of the Sick, to pray with the soldiers in the Portuguese church (Nossa Senhora de Garde Rope), and to thank and praise God the Lord for his benefits and the victory vouchsafed, and to pray that He be pleased to grant us courageous minds, wisdom, and understanding, so that everything undertaken to the prejudice of our foes and the welfare of the General East India Company may prosper and be successful.

During this siege on our side not more than two have been killed and two wounded. On the enemy's side were killed eleven Europeans, one Mestice, and two Canarese. We found among them, after the victory, nine wounded, and did not hear that there were more.

May 3.—The Commander having gone ashore again, the two great Mudaliyárs of the King of Kandy lately arrived here, standing on the beach with a company of fully 1,000 blacks, armed according to their manner, playing very ceremoniously on fifes and drums, went to meet him as far as the gate, and were received. There was some talk about the state of the town of Jaffnapatnam, but little reliance could be placed on what they said.

And as the conquered Portuguese had been allowed, under a solemn treaty, liberty to keep their goods and chattels, there was much complaint yesterday that, notwithstanding some soldiers and sailors burst open the doors of their houses, broke their boxes in pieces, and robbed them of their property, dishonoured their women, took their clothes, and rifled their gardens of fruit, ripe and unripe.

The Commander, therefore, through the Fiscal Gerard Herbers and two Commissioners, proclaimed a *placaat* everywhere, on board the ships and on land, that should any one be found involved in the aforesaid crimes he would be punished by hanging.

After the publication of the *placaat* the lord of Coutijar, named Benjaen, sent to the Commander in the Fort a certain *Toupas* to ask him whether we had conquered the Fort of Trincomalee for ourselves or for the King. This being rather a difficult question, he answered that if they treated our soldiers here as they did in Batticaloa we should take care of the Fort for the King, but if otherwise we should have to consult our Governor-General. We had conquered the Fort with the same mind as we did Batticaloa, and meant afterwards to deal with His Majesty according to the treaty entered into with him, and observe it in its full force and intent. Being further asked whether they could keep the Fort without our assistance, they replied that they were not prepared to be entrusted with it.

May 4.—In the forenoon the Commander returned ashore to further negotiate with the Emperor's Mudaliyárs about the intended attack on Jaffnapatnam and the feeding of our soldiers who were to remain in the Fort of Trincomalee. No one, however, except the brother of Benjaen, the Governor of Coutijar, came here to-day, and he desired to be admitted only to see the conquered Fort. After permission was given him, the Commander told him that the blacks, or Cingalese, were guilty of many excesses, entering the houses of the Portuguese, threatening to bind and kill them, cutting down and destroying the fruit trees in the gardens, and that, if he had not had his men (to keep order) he would have been obliged to shoot down one or two of them. At noon there arrived overland from Batticaloa the trumpeter who, with the Ambassador Jacob Compostel, had been with His Imperial Majesty at Kandy, bringing with him the journal and letters from the Under-Clerk Nicolas Holsteyn, who was ordered with the Head-Factor Compostel aforesaid to note

down everything that took place. Everything was reported well in Batticaloa.

The fleet for the expedition consisted of the following :—

		Sailors.	Soldiers.	Crew.	Guns.
The ship	"Utrecht" (Admiral) ...	120	40	160	44
"	"Henrietta Louisa" (Vice-Admiral) ...	100	30	130	36
"	"Egmont" ...	90	30	120	34
"	"S. Hertogenbosch" ...	100	35	135	34
"	"Wassenaar" ...	90	30	120	34
"	"Der Veer" ...	100	30	130	38
"	"Armuyden" ...	90	30	120	32
"	"Valkenburgh" ...	80	30	110	32
"	"Reyneburch" ...	80	30	110	32
"	"Ondewater" ...	80	30	110	30
Yacht	"Cleyn Amsterdam" ...	25	10	35	11
"	"Zeeuwsch Nachtigael" ...	25	10	35	7
Total ...		980	335	1,315	364

The rations were thus limited in the fleet :—

$\frac{3}{4}$ lb. meat twice	} for each man weekly.
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bacon	
$\frac{1}{2}$ quatern oil	
$\frac{1}{2}$ quatern vinegar	
$1\frac{1}{2}$ quatern arrack	} for each man daily.
1 can water	

A BELGIAN PHYSICIAN'S NOTES ON CEYLON
IN 1687-89.

TRANSLATED BY DONALD FERGUSON.

(*Read December 23, 1887.*)



REGIDIUS DAALMANS, whose notes on Ceylon are here given for the first time in English, was a Belgian physician, born at Antwerp somewhere about the middle of the seventeenth century, his death occurring subsequent to 1703. He was a pupil of Bontekoe, and an ardent partisan of the principles and teachings of the latter. According to the "Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne" (Paris, 1852)—

"He travelled to the Indies, carried on his profession there for some years, and collected some useful observations on the diseases which prevail in those climates; but his conduct was not free from reproach; he compounded and sold secret remedies, professed specifics. An enthusiastic adherent of the ridiculous hypotheses of Paracelsus, he made applications to practical medicine at once useless and dangerous. He pretended, for instance, that gout was produced by the fermentation of the alkaline molecules of the synovia with the acid molecules of the blood; and he proposed spirits of wine as the best curative agent. This erroneous doctrine forms the basis of the work that Daalmans published in Dutch....."

Hoefler's "Nouvelle Biographie Générale" adds that—

"His pathology was based on the system of acids. He recommended only hot remedies and those capable of producing perspiration. He highly extolled the stone *del*

Porco,¹ and rejected bleeding in apoplexy (even sanguineous) and pleurisy. On his return to his native town he was appointed Principal Surgeon. There exists of his *Nieuw hervormde geneeskunst gegrond op de gronden van acidum en alkali* (New medicine based on acid and alkali, followed by observations on the common diseases of the Island of Ceylon, Batavia, &c.); Amsterdam, 1689, 1694, and 1703, 8vo.; translated into German, Frankfort, 1694, 8vo.; translated into the same language by John Daniel Gohl, Berlin, 1715, 8vo."

A. J. A. Van der Aa's "Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden" (Haarlem, 1858) gives the title of Daalmans' book as *De nieuw hervormde geneeskunst, benevens aanmerkingen van siektens op Ceylon, Batavia, Coromandel*, and says that the third edition was published in 1694, which is correct, the first edition having appeared in 1687. It is strange that there does not seem to be a copy of any of the editions of this work in the British Museum Library, nor in the libraries of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons and Physicians and the Apothecaries' Hall in London; but the library of the Surgeon-General's Office, United States Army, contains a copy of the first edition, the Index Catalogue published at Washington in 1882 having the following entry:—

"**DAALMANS (EGIDIUS).** *Denieuw-hervormde geneeskunst, gebouwt op de gronden van het alcali en acidum. Waar in kortelijk, volgens de gronden van de heedendaagse nieuwe practijk, alle ziekten, met weinig omslag geneesen worden.* X, 164 pp., 4 l. 12°. *Amsterdam, Jan ten Hoorn, 1687.*"

Mr. Bell, the Honorary Secretary of our Society, has, I am glad to say, been fortunate enough to secure for the Society's Library a copy of the latest Dutch edition, that of 1703. The title of this differs somewhat from that of the original one of 1687; and, while the latter contains only some 180 pages, this fourth edition has over 260 pages. It is dedicated to two of the author's fellow-collegians, David van den Heuvel and Edmundus Detrohy, and the preface gives the history of this enlarged and revised

reprint. It seems that the publisher of the former editions, Jan ten Hoorn, was anxious to bring out a thoroughly revised edition; and, while he was turning the matter over in his mind, Dr. Daalmans arrived in Amsterdam, to make preparations for accompanying the Anglo-Dutch fleet in its expedition against Spain. While he was in the dispensary of the hospital at Amsterdam, selecting the various drugs needed for the voyage, one of those present, hearing the author's book spoken of, hurried off to the publisher's to get a copy, and returned, saying: "Here I have the last copy of the third edition; but the publisher says that he intends to reprint it in the course of a few weeks." Then, addressing Dr. Daalmans, he said: "I told him that you were here; and he begged me earnestly that you would not go away without speaking with him." Accordingly Dr. Daalmans called on Jan ten Hoorn, who made known to him his wish, to which the author willingly agreed. As, however, he was to leave Amsterdam the following day for Texel, he had to sit up all night, adding, striking out, and altering; and as he wished to write an entirely new preface, he promised to do this during the voyage, and on his return hand it to his publisher to be printed and prefixed to the work. It seems that the preface to the earlier editions gave an account of the author's journey to and in the East Indies: this one, however, is confined to his seven months' voyage to and from Cadiz, detailing the remedies employed by him in the various cases of sickness and accident that occurred on board during that time. I am unable, therefore, to say whether the earlier preface contained any details regarding Ceylon additional to those given in the following travel notes. Judging by a hurried glance, which is all I have been able to give this book, it seems to contain much curious matter of interest to the general reader, though the larger part, of course, is "caviare to the general." I hope, therefore, that one of our medical Members will undertake a translation, or at least an abstract, of the contents of this work.²

Dr. Daalmans' notes of his Indian journey were first

published in the *Kronijk van't Historisch Genootschap* (Proceedings of the Historical Society) of Utrecht for 1868, pp. 620-695, having been communicated to that Society by Prof. H. C. Millies, who gave some information verbally regarding the writer (which is not, however, printed in the *Kronijk*), and referred to the above-mentioned rare work.

Dr. Daalmans' notes commence abruptly with a brief description of the Cape of Good Hope, whence he travelled to Ceylon, sighting on the way the island of "Molyn,"* and calling for provisions at an unnamed island, inhabited chiefly by Muhammadans. Although he does not mention the date, he leads us to infer that his arrival in Ceylon took place in December, 1687, and according to his own statement he left Colombo for Batavia on February 10, 1689, having spent "eighteen [sic] months" in the island. At Batavia he found the drinking water not very good; and he remarks that "In Colombo nothing but water is drunk, but in Batavia *set-bier*, which is made of two cups of sugar-syrup, a cup of mum, and a bottle of water; this, after being mixed together and tightly corked in big bottles, is drunk the next day like beer, and if more mum is added to it, it has the name of *chiamparade*; but those who find this drink too costly omit the mum."³ His notes on what he saw and heard are graphic; and he gives a very full description of the town and fort of Batavia. Thence he proceeded to Pulicat, on the Madras coast, where he describes the masula boats [*mossels ofte chalengen*] in which his luggage was landed, and where, he says, he paid a pagoda for some tea. After a description of this place and his doings there, he relates how he visited the English Governor of Madras, the manner in which he was treated, and what he saw and did. Again embarking, he visited Sadras, Karikal, Negapatam (where he learnt all about the preparation of pepper, which, he says, he had seen growing in Ceylon, but had never seen picked), and finally

* Doubtless Mohilla, one of the Comoro group, at which vessels outward-bound frequently touched. See "Voyage de François Pyrard" (Tome I. 1619, pp. 42-48), where the island is called "Malailli."—B., *Hon. Sec.*

Taingapatam. Here end his Indian experiences; and all that we know of his return voyage is that it took place in 1693, when he called at Colombo, and that he took with him an *orang-utan*, which, however, did not survive the journey. I should have mentioned that he was accompanied in his travels by his wife.

With regard to the notes on Ceylon, it will be seen that Dr. Daalmans had a very poor opinion of this Island; and also that the fact of his being in the service of the Dutch did not blind him to the injustice and cruelty which unhappily characterised many of their dealings with both the Portuguese and the Siphalese. I have attempted, in my translation, to preserve as much as possible the spirit of the original, and have therefore in many cases sacrificed elegance of diction to faithfulness. I have retained the writer's spellings of the names of places, as these have an antiquarian interest; and for the same reason I have taken over *verbatim* a number of foreign words used by him. Finally, I have added notes chiefly explanatory of these words and of other matters touched on by the writer.

D. F.

* * *

After this we came to Ceilon, where I went to the Governor, who received me courteously. Several houses here had fallen in through the terrible rain. The Governor wished to ride with me to Malluanen,⁴ five miles from Colombo, which I was by no means unwilling to do. We therefore left Colombo at 3 o'clock in the morning.

The Governor was carried in a *pallenquin* by 8 slaves, who went forward at a great rate. For 12 other slaves ran beside the *pallequin* to relieve the others by turns: for they do not go further with it than a pistol shot, and then the others know how to take their places with rapidity, so that there is scarcely any stoppage. There followed also three other *pallenquins*, in which the daughters of the Governor and other ladies were carried. Captain Goedkind

with some other officers and I rode on horseback. Before, behind, and in the middle ran slaves with burning torches to give light, as well as other slaves with *sombreros* or *kippersols*,⁶ to hold over the head of each in case of sun or rain. Ahead ran a number of Cingalese or blacks of Ceylon, who had been sent expressly for that purpose by the Company on behalf of the Government, among whom were some who each played on two little drums, which are called *tamboelijnties*,⁶ with similar sticks to those used for dulcimers; and, as one of these *tamboelijnties* is rather bigger than the other, they produce together a sweet sound. Others played on hautboys, and others on cornets, and each knew what they had to play, just as well as the kettle-drummers in the fatherland. Some played during the march, others during the halt, others when the march was about to commence, and others again when a halt was about to take place, so that anyone who was acquainted therewith could tell by their playing what had taken place, was taking place, or was about to take place. After these *tamboelijnties* followed the Governor's trumpeter on horseback, and after him a company on foot, altogether about 200 men.

At each village through which we passed the chief men thereof came to meet us with banners and spears to welcome the Governor to Malluanen. In the road were many gateways made, adorned with greenery and flowers, after the manner of *arcus triumphales*. The road as far as Malluanen was made so beautiful, that not a stick nor branch of a tree lay on it, notwithstanding that it was all forest with several valleys. The country was not unpleasant to the eye, and, as I heard, also rich in soil; on this account more Chinese or other industrious men were needed, in order to cultivate it. But, as the Cingalese are very lazy, they content themselves with great poverty, eating fruits and roots, which grow wild, rather than derive some profit by work; the more so, as there is no lack of cattle, fish, game, fowls, eggs, butter, &c., and as the sea and rivers supply them with fish, and the

valleys with the food for their live stock, and the live stock with eggs and butter, without their needing to take much trouble about it. At sunset a number of Cingalese came to meet us, four of whom held a canopy of white linen over the *pallaquin* of the Governor, and brought him to a spot where they had placed a straw roof upon some sticks, under which stood a table and some benches. At a stone's throw from this hut they had made an ornamental gateway, and on each side of the road they had planted greenery like an avenue, and had covered the road or street with white linen, in the part where we trod with our feet. The whole of this hut was entirely covered and overhung inside with white linen, as well as the table and benches, which were decorated all round with various flowers. They brought us hot *massak*,⁷ that is candle or tipple of *surie*,⁸ seasoned with nutmeg, mace, cloves, cinnamon, and sugar, with some eggs. This we drank out of a kind of sheath, in which the flowers of the *klappers*⁹ or cocoanuts grow, and it was very pleasant to the taste. Meanwhile there were some who danced and tumbled very gracefully before the hut in the manner of rope dancers in Europe, to the playing of two oblong drums, which they struck on both sides with the fingers and with the hand. This being ended, we departed with all these people for Malluanen, which we reached at about 8 o'clock. We had to pass the river before we could come to the fort of Malluanen, so that we had to be taken over in boats, where having arrived, a salvo was fired three times. And after we had examined the fort, the Governor was conducted under the aforesaid canopy to about a musket shot's distance thence, where another hut had been erected, entirely covered and overhung inside with white linen, as well as adorned with flowers, after the manner of the other. The road from the fort to the hut was also beset on both sides with greenery, and in the middle, or half way, a large gateway or triumphal arch; they had also spread white linen on the road for us to go over, which we did.

Whilst we waited for the food to be made ready, the afore-

said jugglers danced and tumbled before the hut, and after we had eaten, amidst the blowing of the trumpet and hautboys, we spent the time in playing *lanterloo*¹⁰ until about 3 o'clock, when the Governor, together with all his suite, went into a *prauw*,¹¹ which had come expressly for that purpose from Colombo. This *prauw* is like a small yacht, which has been divided into three: the middle part has benches round and a flat deck above, as on a yacht. This was covered with scarlet above, and hung round with red silk curtains, and below laid with a carpet or *alkatief*.¹² Pennons and flags waved in front from the mast and from behind, and as the wind was against it, the *prauw* was rowed down the river with twelve oars; the trumpeter sat in front on the poop, and blew up lustily. In front, on a raft of two hollowed trees, on which lay two planks, went the Cingalese, who played on the *tamboeleinties* and hautboys, and many of them somewhat more easily than when all ran forth to play, as they had had to do in the morning.

The river is about half as broad as the Scheldt at Antwerp; the current was pretty strong, but it varies after the influx of much water from the land on account of rain. It runs for the most part through jungle, so that one sees nothing but trees and greenery, and here and there a valley, not unpleasant to journey along once in good company.

Meanwhile, we came to the Pas,¹³ which is a noble house close to the river, where the Ambassadors of the King of Candien are met and received. There stood two carriages: in one of these we went with the Governor, and in the other the ladies, and thus we all rode to Colombo, about a mile away. The soldiers and all the other people had gone overland, and waited for us at the Pas, so that we got in again about 6 o'clock as we had left.

The Lascarijs, or Cingalese soldiers, who are in the service of the Company, and were stationed here and there at certain outposts, brought some presents to the Governor. In front came several *tamboelijnties* and dancers, as has been before described; after them several with banners, and then all that

carried anything, one after another, which is the common Cingalese custom, namely, fowls and various fruits and eatables. All these bearers, quite one hundred in number, went below a piece of white linen that was carried on sticks, stretched like a pavilion or canopy over their heads. On each side marched armed soldiers or Lascarijns, and in this manner they came to the house of the Governor. This gift was usually sent to the hospital, and was made thrice a year.

There was great preparation being made for a grand show of arms at the burial of the deceased King. The funeral procession was arranged in the following manner : at 7 o'clock in the morning the assemblage took place before the house of the Governor, and at 8 o'clock the Lascarijns who were on duty began to march forward, one after the other, in the Cingalese manner. After them followed nine companies of footmen with helmets on their heads, and each with a black silk band on his arm, the musket reversed behind the back ; the pikemen trailed their pikes, on each of which also a black band was tied. All the military officers were in mourning. Before each company went a field-piece, that was drawn by slaves, with several gunners to fire and load these as might be needful. After these nine companies followed a company of sailors, each with a battle-axe in his hand and a pistol in his belt. The company of the Governor was in armour. After this, that is, after the company of sailors, followed four trumpeters and a kettledrum, all on horseback and in deep mourning, and the coat-of-arms of the King of Candien, which is a red lion on a golden field, to the best of my recollection, was designed all round on the cloths, both of the kettledrums and of the¹⁴ of the trumpeters. Next followed the great standard of the king, then two smaller ones, then a led horse fully clothed in black velvet, then the banner of the king, from the two ends of which tiffany or crape, two ells in length, trailed behind ; then another led horse in mourning, then the gilt spurs, the gloves, the golden dagger in its sheath, the helmet, the coat of mail. All these things were carried by petty merchants, all of

whom were in mourning. After this followed the carriage, also in mourning, as well as the six horses, all hung with the king's arms, and each horse led by a slave. After this followed the horse of State, which was all in trappings of black velvet, and was led by two trustworthy persons. After this followed the herald, wholly clad in armour, then the bare sword of sovereignty. Next, a gilt imperial crown and sceptre, each by itself on a black velvet cushion; each cushion was carried in a large silver dish under a pavilion or canopy of black velvet with gold fringes, by a nobleman. Along with these on each side went six halberdiers and six persons, each of whom carried a large burning torch. All these came out of the house of the Governor, from the doorway through which one goes along to the hall where prayer is held of an evening. Then followed the Governor in full mourning; the train of his mantle was borne behind by a page, and was quite six ells long. The Ambassador went on his right hand. Next followed the Political Council, the Ministers, the Council of Justice, then all the officers, burghers, and domestics. This procession went along the east side behind the hospital and so to the church, where all was put upon a table and guarded by the aforesaid twelve halberdiers. The burning torches also were all left there burning around until near the evening, when everything was taken away. During the exit from the church three salutes were fired by the musketry and field-pieces, beside all the cannon in the city and castle. The funeral procession was then brought back to the place from which it had started, where all who had accompanied it were regaled with a glass of Spanish wine and absinth.¹⁵

Moreover, there were various presents brought by slaves on sticks, covered with fine linen, on their shoulders, to do honour to the new King, some miles out of Colombo.

In the river Zeduaken¹⁶ and thereabouts are found various precious stones, such as rubies, sapphires, and topazes, which are brought to Colombo and elsewhere, and sold at dear enough prices.

At two o'clock at night the *tamboelijnties* beat the *réveille*, and the march commenced. We went in the bright moonlight through a valley over the river to Roenelle,¹⁷ the frontier town of the land of the Company and of the King of Candia, three miles from Zeduaaken. The river that divides Roenelle from the King's and the Company's land comes from some distance out of the land that lies around there, and falls there into the river that comes from Candia, and passing through Zeduaaken by Anguellen¹⁸ and then to the Pas and Matualen¹⁹ falls into the sea there. Having come there, compliments on both sides were exchanged by means of interpreters at the river, where the King's Ambassadors were ferried over in *tonies*,²⁰ and we went up the bank of the river, where some pedereroes [*bassen*] were fired off, with a salute from the muskets. The blacks or Cingalese had prepared a hut there and hung it with white linen after their custom, and had covered the table, and we were there treated in Cingalese style. After we had eaten, we returned again to Zeduaaken.

The new King sent Ambassadors a second time to the Governor, testifying his regard for the Company, whereupon the Governor again sent a letter to the King. The Governor's letter was carried publicly in a silver dish, which was covered over with cloth of silver, on the head of an officer, who walked beneath a handsome pavilion or tabernacle, as far as the Pas. Beside the two companies that went along with him, there were nearly all the other officers, both superior and petty, in the second carriage next to the Ambassadors, or on horseback, and so they went, under the salute of the cannon, as far as the Pas, whence they returned with the two companies to Colombo towards evening.

Going to Cotton,²¹ about two miles from Colombo, I found the whole way nothing but clumps of cinnamon trees, which grow there wild and in great quantity; which trees become so thick that one cannot encircle them with one's arms, but do not shoot up very high, but after the manner of apple trees. The leaves are almost like those of the wild laurel, and have each three ribs. It is a wonderful tree; its bark or rind,

which is first freed from its green rind or peel, is then cinnamon. The roots yield, through distillation, a large quantity of camphor and oil of camphor. The leaves yield an oil that very closely resembles oil of cloves, with which a little oil of cinnamon is mixed. The fruits, which resemble a kind of berry, yield oil very like the oil of juniper. These berries or fruits being taken out of the kettle after distillation, and pressed, and thus deprived of the residue of water, a substance like wax is obtained, from which candles are made.²² The chief fuel that we burnt in the kitchens in Colombo was cinnamon wood. This is, in short, what I had to say of the cinnamon tree.

Meanwhile we had come to a broad marshy water, which separates Cotton from the district of Colombo, for Cotton is a small island. Here we stood and looked, and no one knew how to get across. Some Cingalese, who stood near there, said that there was no other way, but that we must go across that marsh, and that then we must also cross a broad sheet of water. We begged them to be of assistance to us. Having got through the marsh, we came to a very broad and deep sheet of water, where, as luck would have it, two hollow trees, which they call *tonjes*, lay, which they tied together with some greenery, and thus we went towards Cotton; they came back immediately to take us, as well as our slaves, and so we came together to Cotton. The curiosities that were to be seen there were of little interest: only the ruins of some pillars of grey freestone, standing in a square ten to twelve paces from each other, on which was carved some foliage, which for heathen men was certainly wonderful. They said that in former times the Portuguese had carried off the rest for the building of their church in Colombo.²³ In Cotton were some *klapper* gardens, where *surie* and *arak* were sold. We dined there, in the manner of the country, on a mat on the earth, and sat thereto as tailors are accustomed to do with us. After eating, we again crossed over, and came back home once more.

Moreover, the Ambassadors, or those who had brought the

letter, or *ole*,²⁴ from the King of Candia, had returned to Candien. Then again a letter was sent from the Governor to the King, with the foregoing ceremonies, and was conducted by six companies of foot as far as the Pas, under a canopy or pavilion, with large torches as well, and from there onwards by three companies to Orwevel²⁵ or Anguellen, amidst the firing of all the cannon, according to the old custom.

Before I leave the island of Ceilon, it will not be unreasonable if I briefly relate what I heard and saw of that island during the period of eighteen months that I lived there. It is true that Baldeus has written much about it and extols it mightily high, but in deed and in truth the whole island and all that is in it, excepting the cinnamon tree, is not worth as much as an ordinary village in Brabant or Flanders: for all the fruits that grow there are not worth describing. The sweet oranges, or King's apples,²⁶ that grow there have been brought from elsewhere and planted there. The cattle are so thin that they are not eatable. The fish that comes into the fish market on a Friday in Antwerp is better and worth more than all the fish that is caught in a whole year throughout the whole of Ceilon. The schools in which the children in the low-lands are taught, and which are figured in Baldeus in fine copperplates, are altogether not worth as much as the plates cost to engrave: for they are nothing more than a wretched hut and a roof on sticks, that is open all round, and some covered with straw and others with tiles.

This island was first discovered by Christoffel Columbus, an Italian, whence the chief town bears his name.²⁷ Colombo lies in seven and a half degrees²⁸ The Portuguese, who were the first possessors of this island, also had various other forts there, both round the sea coast and inland, such as Negombo, Goalen,²⁹ Battecolo, Vincquenelaley,³⁰ &c., and endured severe contests with the inhabitants before they could bring them into subjection, until about the year 1655 the Hollanders landed there, who, with the help of the Cingalese, that is, the inhabitants, drove out all the Portuguese. But before the Cingalese would help the Hollanders

they made a stipulation with them in these terms : that when the town of Colombo and others should be conquered, so that the Portuguese were driven out thence, some fortresses should also be given into their charge, together with some seaports, in order that they might go with their vessels where they would. But as soon as Colombo and the other places had capitulated, and the Portuguese were driven out, the King of Candia, who was then the sole sovereign of that island, wished to take possession of those places that had been promised him in the agreement made ; but as the Hollanders said that this agreement might cause them great harm, as the King could at any time call some foreign potentate to his aid, and admit him into his country through the seaports which he wished to have, and also by help from other fortresses which he also wished to have, according to the foregoing agreement, they, the Hollanders, would be compelled to do what he pleased ; beside which, that the King, by means of the seaports, would be able to trade with others in cinnamon and *areek*,³¹ it was resolved by the Hollanders, after the matter had been well considered, that a spoke should be put in the wheel, and an opportunity sought of giving some course of discontent to the Cingalese, which very soon occurred. It was then announced that all the Cingalese would have to depart from the fortress of Colombo to a certain distance from the place, and as these people did not promptly obey, some of them were for this reason shot dead by the Hollanders. Hereupon arose forthwith a new war between the Hollanders and the Cingalese ; and then the poor inhabitants saw for the first time that they had been deceived. The which gave occasion to the King of Candia to say or to ask his courtiers, what they thought of this business ; whereupon he was answered, that they were freed from the hot ginger, but that they had got more pungent pepper in its place. These things remained for some years in the same state, so that now and then some encounter took place on both sides, and now the King's side and then Hollanders took some prisoners.

The Company, seeing that not the slightest advantage was

to be gained in this warfare, tried to pacify the King of Candien with fair words and rare gifts ; but he would listen to nothing, saying that the Hollanders were deceivers, and kept all who were sent to him as envoys, with him in Candien. Moreover, he would not look at the presents sent, but let them remain in the same place where they were brought on their arrival, until they were spoilt and destroyed, in contempt of them : so that he allowed a beautiful Persian horse, that was sent to him as a gift, die of hunger, though he was a great fancier of fine horses.³²

At last the Governor Laurens Pijl managed by cunning to so get round the King that he began to listen to him. This Governor had utterly condemned the action of the Governor or General who had not kept his word in accordance with the agreement at the commencement of their possession, saying, moreover, that it was not concluded with the permission of the Lords and Masters in Holland : for the whole island with all the fortifications belonged to the King, and that he as Governor only guarded them for his Royal Majesty, as he was not able to defend such a large island against a foreign potentate, and that he was prepared to hand over all the fortresses to his Majesty when it should please him.

This private letter Pijl had found means of forwarding to the King quietly in the year 1685, when another letter was sent to him in the following manner: Laurens Pijl had learnt that his private letter had not been unpleasant to the King ; he therefore informed the Political Council that he had understood that the King appeared to have become possessed of ears willing to hear some fair promises of favourable intercourse with the Company ; for which reason he deemed it not unadvisable to make a trial for once, and write to him. But as it had been seen that the King detained all who were sent to him, it was resolved to make one more trial, but with his own people, or Cingalese, who live near Colombo. These were instructed regarding all, by word of mouth, to make known to the King the great regard of the Governor, beside a private letter to the King, in which everything was

confirmed. The public letter, of which the Political Council had knowledge, was placed in a large silver basin, being wrapped first in cloth, and then in red velvet, and was then placed in a beautiful new carriage, which was drawn by six fine horses. This letter in this carriage was accompanied by the whole garrison as far as the extreme boundaries of Colombo, where they parted from it amidst the firing of several field-pieces and of all the musketeers, and let the Cingalese proceed entrusted with the rest. The private letter as well as the oral instructions of his own subjects were, however, so far able to move the old King, that in the following year in the month of May he released a number of Hollanders, or rather Europeans, who had been kept prisoners in Candia some 17 or 18 years, notwithstanding that he had sworn many oaths that he would put no more faith in the Hollanders all the days of his life. Beside these prisoners the King sent some Ambassadors to confer verbally with the Governor, who were received and sent back again with all ceremony and honour.* All this took place before my arrival there, but was related to me by those who had themselves been present.

But on the 10th Decemb., 1687, I myself saw two envoys from the new King arrive. Whilst these envoys were in Colombo, Laurens Pijl released all the Company's slaves that were in chains, and struck off their fetters, and pardoned

* From the *Beknopte Historie* we learn that in 1686, by presents, and the promised aid of the Chief Priest of Kandy (who had visited Governor Pyl, and been entertained "with great pomp and ceremony"), the Dutch hoped to obtain the release of their countrymen detained prisoners by the King, but that Rája Sigha hardened his heart "at the instigation of his French and Portuguese captives." The present of an eagle, however, early in 1687 led to "great interchange of compliments," and ultimately to "the release of the Dutch prisoners, amongst them being Liout. Molière and Ensign Steenbeek, besides eleven Toepasses and some natives."

The Dutch Records, Colombo, furnish further particulars. The prisoners were sent down from Kandy in charge of Aswolla Adigar, Galgama Rāla, Kobewela Mohotiyār, Maradagođa Muhandiram, and a large retinue: they reached Colombo on May 13. The gratitude of the Dutch prompted an expenditure of f 1,908. 18. 9 in presents to the escort, viz.:—Aswolla Adigar, f 507. 7. 10; Galgama Rāla, f 207. 18. 5; Kobewela Mohotiyār, f 182. 13. 5; Maradagođa Rāla, f 150. 18. 5; Adigar's Muhandiram,

any who had been condemned to death or the lash, and all this to win over the King.

After three days, to wit, on the 13th, these Ambassadors departed with great ceremony. On the 15th two others were received in the like manner; these brought the tidings of the death of the old King; moreover, that the old King had expressly enjoined on his successor to maintain good relations with his Governor: for that he was well assured that he was no deceiver as the former Hollanders had been, &c.

It was then, while these Ambassadors were there, that that imposing funeral procession in memory of the deceased King took place, which has been described above, on the 23rd Dec., and they returned again on the 30th to Candien with many presents. The Secretary Aalbos accompanied them as Ambassador to congratulate the new King, and to assure him that Gov. Pijl would act towards him as he had promised the deceased King, his father, and with other private instructions, which were delivered to him by word of mouth. This Aalbos brought back with him two Ambassadors from the King, who were received with great pomp, as has been before said, and who brought with them five elephants, which the deceased King had purposed to send to his Governor, beside other presents, such as gold.

f 25. 2; nine Appuhámies, *f* 125. 13. 4; nine A'rachchies, *f* 56. 0. 8; eleven "Manacayers," *f* 56. 2; three Vidánes, *f* 20. 18. 8; five (?), *f* 40. 10; sixteen lascorins, *f* 283. 9. 8; seven lascorins of the Atapattu, *f* 51; eight smiths, *f* 37. 6; two Moors, *f* 13. 19; twenty-one servants, *f* 52. 10; twenty-five coolies, *f* 62. 10.

Other Dutch prisoners, probably released with Pieter Mollier and Hans Steenbeck, or in the following year (July 10, 1688), as gathered from contemporary letters, were Mattheus Gomez, Paulus Cornelis, Diedrick Barrents, Thomas Homes, Frederick Ambrosias Penneguín, and Jurgen Pietersen.

Knox writing in 1681 believed the number of Dutch living in the Kandyan territory to be "about 50 or 60," Ambassadors, prisoners, runaways, and malefactors—Portuguese, some "three score," English 16. The Dutch Ambassador Jacob Cuyoc Myerop, in a letter from Kandy, dated July 15, 1684, puts the total of Rája Sípá's *détenu*s at 97, of whom 6 were French 10 English, and 25 Portuguese.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

precious stones, &c. These Ambassadors remained until the 21st. Meanwhile, every honour was done to them that could be thought of, such as parades and other things. Every evening until late they had long audiences with the Governor, and all in secret. A certain Bannok acted as interpreter, who had taken pains to acquaint himself generally with the affairs of the people. These Ambassadors then departed on the 21st with many presents, and were accompanied to the furthest frontier.*

On 11th May another Ambassador came to speak verbally with the Governor, who being put off with fair words returned the same day that he came, but with the usual ceremonies.³³

On 4th July† came four Ambassadors and brought the rest of the prisoners with their wives and children; these were received in the most imposing manner. Among others, there came a Lieutenant who had been kept a prisoner there for 16 years, having gone there on an embassy. On the 15th, a parade of all the Europeans was held before the Ambassadors, when the King was announced and proclaimed as King from the balcony of the Council-house, whereupon all the people

* The "Upper Merchant, and Chief Secretary, Chans Alebos" (as he is styled in the D. R.), returned on February 6, 1688, with two Ambassadors, "Kirewewele Gabbara Rale" and "Mendiwoer Mohotiar," bearing a letter from the Kandy Court, dated January 30. The Ambassadors were sent back February 21, with a reply from Governor Pyl. This "Banacke of Colombo" seems to have been privileged to correspond directly with the King's ministers.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† The *Beknopte Historie* says "in June." The actual date was July 10 (D. R. Colombo). The captives released (in all 25 men, women, and children, including "Lieutenant Disave Cornelis Blicklant") were in charge of "Dewakarre Mahamotlaar," and accompanied by four Ambassadors, "Wickeremasinga Modliar," Disáva of Sabaragamuwa; "Tambancarrewarre Samamaracon Modliar," Disáva of Bintenna; "Herat Modliar," Chief of Ugunuwara; and "Pandite Modliar." The young King had been crowned on May 27; and Governor Pyl, in his letter of July 22, offers congratulations and goodwill to the new Emperor "Wimele Daham Soury Maha Ragia." Secretary Alebos returned with the Ambassadors on 23rd, bearing draft of a fresh Contract for the consideration of the King.

The heads of this proposed agreement, which fell through after some months of useless negotiation, are given in the *Beknopte Historie*.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

shouted "Long live the King!" In the evening there was a display of fireworks, which was witnessed by the Ambassadors. On the 19th there was another display of fireworks on the water. On the 23rd they returned with many presents. These were sent in return for a gun that was of massive gold, and that was sent by the King to the Governor. The Secretary Aalbos returned with them to the King, with express command not to return thence before the King had also proclaimed peace, or until he was summoned back by a later order.³⁴

On the 5th Octob. came two envoys from the King, but they were received only at the gate, and after they had spoken with Pijl they departed with dissatisfaction on both sides, and the Ambassadors were allowed to go without any escort.*

On 25th November a letter was sent by a Cingalese with great ceremony to the King, who replied to it on the 22nd Dec. in the same manner, the letter being received by a company of soldiers. The contents were, that the King did not wish to have anything more to do with embassies, but that he wished to speak with his Governor verbally, to which end the King had caused great preparations in the way of houses to be made at Zeduaaken.

The fort of Zeduaaken lay about 12 miles from Colombo, and was the frontier place of Colombo and Candien. 'T was a regular fortress, well provided with ordnance. Under its protection several *aldees*³⁵ or villages sheltered themselves. This fortress, with its dependent *aldees*, the Governor had some months before ceded to the King. There, as I have said, the King had made great preparations for speaking with the Governor personally. The envoys who had brought this letter returned on the 5th January, 1689, and a public letter was then sent to the King with the same ceremony as if an

* Mudaliyárs "Hindenie Abesinge" and "Hakmana Heneke" arrived on October 5, with letter dated the 2nd. Governor Pyl replied on the 22nd.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

Ambassador had accompanied it in person. The contents were not known; but great preparation was made of all kinds of silver trappings for the equipment of a Persian horse. Pit³⁶ [*sic*] pretended to be ill in order not to give any audiences.*

On 25th January there came two more envoys from the King, who were suitably received, and it was rumoured that they had come to see how it fared with their Governor's health. They returned on the 28th with the usual ceremonies. Meanwhile work was carried on with all diligence at the aforesaid silver trappings, and we made ready to leave for Batavia on February 10. This is then, in brief, the state of affairs between the King and the Company.³⁷

Let us now say something of the situation of Colombo, and in what manner the Portuguese were driven out of it. The city of Colombo lies in seven degrees and a half north of the line, and is divided into an old city and a new one or castle. The old city is about a thousand paces long and seven hundred broad, and is an oblong quadrangle; it has three long and straight streets lengthways and three breadthways, so that the whole of the old city is almost made up of the twelve squares or cubes, of which one of the midmost is the churchyard, surrounded by a wall. Against this wall little mud houses covered with straw have been erected, where every day are to be found one thing and another for sale, of which the Cingalese have need, such as slaves, clothing, linen, thread, *betel*, *areek*, &c., and which serve as a *basaaart*,³⁸ that is, a

* The course of the correspondence between the Kandyan Court and the Dutch from November, 1688, to January, 1689, was as follows:—

On November 11 "Mattemagoda Chitty" (perhaps a Moor of Matamagoda in Four Koralés) arrived with a letter from the King. This "Chitty" seems to have been employed as intermediary, and was probably the "Cingalese" by whose hand Daalmans says the Governor's reply of November 25 was sent to Kandy. He returned on December 22, with Mudaliyáras "Bowolle Coeletonge" and "Oedowitte Jasinge," bearing two *olas*, dated December 17, from the King and the "Gonneboudaer." The contents of both were virtually the same, and are dealt with in Governor Pyl's replies of January 5, substantially as summarised in the *Beknopte Historie*. (See Note 37, *infra*).—B., *Mon. Sec.*

market, where everything, vegetable or otherwise, is for sale ; but this *basaart* is only on the two front sides of the churchyard : for at the eastern and southern corners the wall is bare at night, and these huts serve for the buffaloes to take shelter in when it rains. These buffaloes pay their house rent with the gift of their dung : for it is very useful for smearing therewith the floor and earthen seats that are made there ; for otherwise the people there would have no peace with the white ants that eat up everything, although they may have been only some hours at work ; so that everyone, not only in Ceilon, but throughout the whole of India, who has not a paved floor, must of necessity once or twice a week have his whole house smeared with buffalo or cow dung ; indeed, the very frame of our bedstead, on which we slept, was thus smeared all over. Everything else, such as boxes and cupboards, pantries, &c., which would be spoilt by being so smeared, must stand on hollow stones in which is water, or they are in peril of the ants.

Now, as further concerns the churchyard, it has two large gateways, one on the north side and one on the south side. One always enters by the first and goes out by the other. In this graveyard everyone is buried, except the Governor and the members of the Political Council ; and besides, anyone who is willing to pay 100 rixdollars can also be buried in the church.

All the houses in the old city are still those of the Portuguese times, except some which, having been destroyed by the rain or other causes, have been rebuilt ; most of them were entirely under the roof [*i.e.*, without an upper story], or if any are one story high the roof is very low, and the principal dwelling is above. In the whole of the old town resided only about 24 Europeans, both independent persons and servants of the Company, of whom more than half had black wives or *Mistiches*;³⁹ and also some Dutch widows ; the rest were *Mistiches*, *Toepassers*,⁴⁰ Cingalese, Moors, Malabars, &c. The town lies east and west, south and north. It has only one gate, which bears the name of the Negombo

gate, because one goes to Negombo through it; it is situated in the angle on the north-east side. On the east and on the south side it is very strongly fortified, with stone walls and bastions and a very broad water, or *tank*, in which are many crocodiles or *kaimans*.⁴¹ On the north side is the sea, from which it is separated by a small wall, in the middle of which is a bastion, where troops are stationed with a sergeant. Outside this wall, to wit, on the beach, is the fish market, or the fish bazaar [*visch-passer*],⁴² where a number of fishermen live in little huts. On the west side is the castle, between which and the town lies a low plain, almost as large as the whole city, by a high road through the midst of which one goes to the castle. This road was planted with trees when we left there,⁴³ and they had grown well when we came away again.⁴⁴

The fort or castle is almost square, and has five bastions of poor stone, which is cut out of the earth there of any size that is required, and is called *kaphok* stone.⁴⁵ It is like small pebbles lying in a hard clay, so that if a large square stone is allowed to lie for some time in the water the clay dissolves, and all the pebbles fall in a heap together; but if this stone is laid in good mortar, so that the water cannot get at it, then it does good service. The castle has on the south side the same *tang*⁴⁶ or broad water as the old city, on the west side the sea, and on the north side the bay, and on the east side the old town, which is separated from the castle by a pretty broad and deep moat. It has three gates, one through which one enters from the old town, where the road still lay open when I was there in 1693, notwithstanding that the blue chiselled freestone all ready for making a fine gateway therewith had lain there from the time I came to Colombo. The second gate lies at the angle of the south-west side, where the road goes to Gaalen,⁴⁷ and is named the *Gaalse poort* [Galle gate]. The third is the *Water-poort* [Water gate], where one goes down along three sides by twenty blue freestone steps to the bay or beach. Beside these there are two or three other small gates, by which one goes to the works and to the sea beach,

on the west side, where stand several small huts, for the slaves of the Company to live in with their wives and children, and which is a kind of negro village.⁴⁸ Beside these there is yet another small gate, by which one goes to the pier and wharf, where all the goods are discharged and loaded by means of punts and small boats or skiffs, and also taken to the large vessels, which mostly lie a good half mile or even mile outside the bay on account of a bank, and the north wind in the *mousson*,⁴⁹ in November, December, and January, as the north wind blows sometimes very strongly there, and then the ships cannot get out of the bay on account of the north wind, but are driven towards the shore, so that they part from their anchors. On the north side the fort has a bend towards the sea, like an elbow, on the end of which stands a bastion with a four-cornered tower well provided with metal cannon, as indeed a large number of metal cannon stand all round the city. This bastion bears the name of the *Waterpas*. Behind this bend, towards the shore, lies the wharf for building small vessels; there stands a saw-mill, driven by the wind. In the middle of this elbow stands a smithy, beside carpenters', turners', and coopers' shops. Here gun-carriages and everything needed on sea or land are made for the Company. The rest of this crooked elbow is entirely occupied by store-houses, in which the goods of the Company are kept.

Close by the *Gaalse poort* stands a powder-mill, also driven by the wind, where gunpowder is made. In the castle are few respectable houses, and most of these built by the Dutch, of which the house of the Governor, with that of the Secretary, which is close by, is very large, and with its garden forms a complete square. Its front faces the sea shore. The wall or the fortification serves as a road for the said house. At the one angle towards the east stands a bastion, and at the other angle towards the west is a *corp* [*sic*] *de garde*, where the Company and the servants, with the trumpeter of the Governor, have their residence, close to the *Water-poort*. The castle has two streets from the north to the south, the longest of which, that runs right from the *Water-poort* to the

Gaalse poort, is very broad and irregular, and only ten or twelve houses stand there in order, to wit, as one enters by the *Gaalse poort*, on the right hand, where the shopkeeper, the cashier, the dispenser, warehouse-masters, &c., dwelt. In the middle of this street stands the church, which lies north and south, and is one relic of the fifty churches that in the time of the Portuguese stood in the districts of Colombo, Negombo, and of Gaalen, and it did not differ much from them, but was also in ruins when I was there, and the ground was all marked off for the building of a new one close by, but there it remained.

The second street runs from the other corner on the east side of the house of the Governor to the end of the castle. This street has on the east side a moat of about 30 feet, on the other side of which are houses. These two streets are crossed by six others, of which the rampart in front of the house of the Governor is the first; the second street comes behind the same house, against the wall of its court, at the angle of which towards the west stand two offices, to wit, the pay and the trade offices. Right opposite to this stands the house of the second person, and at the other angle the house of the Major, that was kept empty for the lodging therein of the Ambassadors of the King. Beside these stood two other fine houses. The third street was very bad, into which the gardens of the above houses had exit. The fourth street was the finest of all: in it were 2 or 3 lodgings of Europeans, and the rest were mostly Toepasses and Blacks. The fifth street did not run right through, but stopped at the courts of the row of houses in which lived the shopkeeper, the dispenser, and the cashier. In this street stood the hospital and the house of the head surgeon. The rest were all miserable hovels, as were also all the houses of the same⁵⁰ street, which also had the above-mentioned moat for a neighbour at their doors, which runs right past the *Gaalse poort*, over which one goes by a built stone bridge, and so proceeds as far as the rampart on the west side of the castle. Between this moat and the rampart on the south

stands the powder mill, beside the dwelling of the Master-Gunner. This is then in brief [the plan] of Colombo.^{51*}

There now remains to say how the Portuguese lost this city, and the whole island. Disunion and self-conceit were the cause of the departure of the Portuguese. When the Hollanders came to Ceylon with their fleet, the Portuguese could easily have prevented their landing, but thinking too little of their foe they considered that an indignity, for they believed that they could easily drive them back with sticks. Therefore the Portuguese Governor of Colombogaveas answer to those who brought him the tidings that the Hollanders were engaged in landing, that the fowls should be allowed to come on land, that he had powder and lead to shoot them with. But after the Hollanders had taken several forts or *pagers*,⁵² they saw well that it was no cockfight; but that about 4,000 of the enemy, black as well as white, were marching on Colombo, against whom they sent out 700 Portuguese to bar their passage at a river between Gaalen and Colombo. But when the 30 men who formed the vanguard had passed over that river, and whilst they were occupied in cooking their rice, as they, to wit, the Hollanders, had eaten nothing the previous day, they became aware of the Portuguese; but not knowing how strong they were, as it was late in the evening, and also quite dark (the body of the Hollanders camp was on the other side of the river), nevertheless these courageous Hollanders fell upon the Portuguese, who also not knowing whether the whole camp of the Hollanders had passed over the river or not, and being also but 30 men strong, who were the *avantgarde*, the Portuguese took to flight. On hearing this news the rest of the Hollanders crossed the river with all speed, each as best he could. Here an officer, who was in the service of the Portuguese, but was a Netherlander by birth, ran over to the

* To the writers quoted in Note 51, *infra*, should be added Christopher Schweitzer, who served in Ceylon from November, 1676, to January, 1682.—*B., Mon. Sec.*

Hollanders, and begged for quarter, which was promised him on condition that he would state truly all that he knew as to the numbers of the Portuguese, which he did. Among other things that he related, he said that the Portuguese had resolved to hang all the Hollanders except the young and strong fellows, whom they wished to keep as *pallenquin* bearers. This statement aroused so much hatred towards them, that Van der Laan, who was in command of the Hollanders, swore an oath that he would slaughter all the Portuguese whom he could catch, with wives and children. The day now broke, and the march along the sea coast was begun, when they soon came in sight of the Portuguese. The Hollanders marched 36 men in each rank, and had orders not to open fire on the Portuguese before they saw the white of the eye of the latter. This was done, and presently several ranks were opened, and they began to fire on the Portuguese with a number of field-pieces, which were loaded with grape or canister, on which they took to flight, and all who could not escape were shot dead. Very few Hollanders were killed, and Van der Laan was slightly wounded in the face, which cost nine Portuguese their lives. These Portuguese had fled into the depths of the forest thereabout, in order to escape to Colombo with the rest by night; but by chance a Hollander corporal with four men, each with a gun, going into the jungle, found these nine Portuguese, each also with his musket and burning lunt; but as these Portuguese did not know whether or not there were more Hollanders there, they asked if there was quarter or not for them, and put themselves in position to fire, as they had seen the Hollanders come along, but, owing to the rough nature of the forest, could not escape without taking to the open. This corporal never heard a pleasanter question, and they all called out together "Yes," with the condition that they should extinguish their lunts, which was done, and then they brought these Portuguese to Van der Laan, who abused them roundly, and because he had been wounded in the face caused them all to be shot, and that by the very

soldiers who had given them quarter. Shortly afterwards Colombo was besieged by the Hollanders, and after they had intrenched themselves as near to the city as they thought necessary, they kept the city in a constant state of alarm, in order to weary out the Portuguese, and in order the better to deceive them, to have soldiers firing at all hours, now in one place, and now in another, with cries of "Kill them ! Kill them ! Charge ! Charge !" This was done at all hours of the night by different soldiers, and in the daytime they did nothing but cannonade, and raise a false alarm here and there ; but seeing that nothing came of this false alarm, they became accustomed to that noise. But one Sunday, after they had raised a still greater alarm, the Portuguese had all gone to their churches, thinking that the Hollanders were tired and would not make any attack that day. But a false alarm changed into a real one, and a bastion was speedily occupied, where only a monk was on guard with a few soldiers ; and notwithstanding that this monk did great mischief by firing with the cannon on the Hollanders, the bastion was occupied before assistance came from the church, the result being that they were obliged to agree to surrender the city to the Hollanders. They were only fifty or somewhat more in number, to wit, of men capable of bearing arms, who were all sent to Coutchyn and Goa. And so Colombo was ceded to the Hollanders.⁵³

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR.

¹ On the *Hogstone*, see Baldæus, *Malabar ende Choromandel*, p. 169 ; Mandelso's *Travels into the Indies*, translated by John Davies, second edition, p. 124 ; *Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels*, in Harris's *Voyages*, II., p. 407 ; and *Tavernier's Travels*, in Harris's *Voyages*, II., p. 375. Among the gifts sent by the Dutch to the son of the King of Kandy in 1655 was a hogstone. (See Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chapter XXIV.)

² Since this was written, Dr. W. G. Van Dort has, in a paper read before the Ceylon Branch of the British Medical Association, given an account of the contents of the volume, with translations of parts. The greater portion of his paper is printed in the *Ceylon Medical Journal*, Vol. I., No. 4.

³ See on this drink *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. 'Beer, Country'; and Journal of the Ceylon Branch Royal Asiatic Society 1867-70, p. 150.

⁴ Mallnanen = Malwána. In Ribeiro's curious map of Ceylon (see Tennent's Ceylon, II², p. 5 n.) this place is entered as 'Malvana,' and Ribeiro gives the following description of it (Bk. I., chap. 12):—"Malvana was situated on the bank of the river, about three leagues from Colombo; moreover, it covers a small area, with a square redoubt, without any flank. In it resided a Captain, Ensign, and Sergeant, and the soldiers who went there from the hospital became convalescent and returned to their camps. It had a church, a chaplain, a storehouse for provisions, and ammunition." To this Le Grand adds:—"Malvana never was reckoned a fortress; it is only a country seat at which the Captains-General usually resided: they had a handsome palace there called *Rosa-pani*; and as the air was believed to be purer there than anywhere else in the whole land, those who were convalescent were sent there to recover their strength." The Captains-General of Colombo, according to Ribeiro, assumed the title of 'King of Malwana.' In 1736 a detachment of troops, 82 strong, sent by the Dutch to put down a revolt among the Chaliyas of the Siyané kóralé, was driven from Attanagalla by a large body of low-country Siphalese and Kandyans, with a loss of two field-pieces beside ammunition and baggage, and forced to retire to Malwána. The small fort that had been thrown up here was, however, attacked by the Disáwa of the Four and Seven Kóralés at the head of some thousands of men, and was utterly demolished, the guard of lascoreens perishing in the flames. This act gave rise to a formal war between the Dutch and the Kandyans. In 1881, when the last census was taken, Malwána contained 63 houses and 342 persons. No traces of the fortifications now exist, I believe.

⁵ *Sombrero* (Port. *sombreiro*) and *kippersol* (Port. *quita-sol*) = 'umbrella' or 'sunshade.' See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'Sombrero' and 'Kittysol.'

⁶ *Tamboelijntie*, diminutive of *tamboelijn* = 'tambourine.' Cf. Port. *atabale*, 'a kettle-drum' (Vicra). Valentijn has '*tablinjeros*, *tablinjeros*, *tammelijnspelers*.' See Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*, s. v. 'Tabour, Tabor.'

⁷ *Massak*. Heydt (1744) says:—".....they were in charge of a distillery, or *Schacherey*, as they are accustomed to call it there, and many Europeans went there to drink, and were in the habit of refreshing themselves with a *Masac Gloria*, *Gorl*, or a good bottle of fresh *Sury* or palm-wine." Saar (*Ost-Ind. Fünfzehen-Jährige Kriegs-Dienst*, 1652, chap. 4) describes the process of making this drink. Christopher Langhans also, in his *Neue Ost-Indische Reise*, 1705, p. 200, describes the various drinks indulged in at Batavia, and says:—"First they pour into warm *Tea-water Arack* or *Knip*, put some sugar therein, and this the boatmen call *Gloria*, or Children's *Tea-water*. They also

make *Kletskletz* in the following way : viz., they pour some *Tea*-water into a bowl, put a handful of sugar *Candy* therein, and beat it up with a split rattan, until it has dissolved, during which stirring eight or ten eggs are beaten up therein, and when it has all been thoroughly beaten up, as much *Arack* is poured into it according to the strength desired, then a little *Muscat*-nut [nutmeg] is grated over it, and this is drunk instead of a warm wine. In the same manner also *Massack* is made, only that instead of the *Tea*-water *Sury* is taken." He also describes *Brombrom*, *Pontz*, or *Surepontz* (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'Punch'), sugar-beer and *Cras-bier* (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'Beer Country')."

⁸ *Surie* = *sura*, 'toddy.' See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'Sura.'

⁹ *Klapper* = Malay *kalápa*, 'cocoanut,' the latter being probably from Skt. *kapāla* by metathesis.

¹⁰ *Lanterloo*, 'an old game at cards' (Calisch). "A game mentioned in *Games Most in Use*, 12mo., n. d. The game of *loo* is still termed *lant* in the North" (Halliwell).

¹¹ *Prawo* = Malay *práhu*, boat. Cf. Sighalese *páru(wa)*. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'Prow, Parao.'

¹² *Alkatief*.—Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'Alcatif,' says: "This word for 'a carpet' was much used in India in the sixteenth century, and is treated by some travellers as an Indian word. It is not, however, of Indian origin, but is an Arabic word (*katif*, 'a carpet with long pile') introduced into Portugal through the Moors."

¹³ *The Pas* = Pass *Nákalagam*, or Grandpass. The reception hall referred to occupied one corner of the square in which Wolfendahl church stood. See Percival and Cordiner.

¹⁴ There is a blank here in the original manuscript. The editor queries 'vaantgens,' bannerels or bandrolls.

¹⁵ The 'Beknopte Historie van de Voornaamste Gebeurtnissen op Ceilon,' compiled in 1760 in Colombo, in the office of the Political Secretary, and published at Leyden in 1862 by Mr. P. A. Leupe, thus refers to this event :—"In the month of December of the same year, 1687, tidings were received that His *Candian* Maj. *Raja Singa Rajoe* had expired ; whereupon it was resolved to go into mourning until the envoys, who had come to *Colombo* to make known the succession to the throne of a new King (namely, the young Prince *Mahastane*), should have put it off. The said envoys conducted themselves as if they knew nothing of the old King's death ; which hypocrisy was repaid them in the very same coin. However, the *Gannebandaar* begged H. Ex. the Governor privately not to grieve over the old King's death."

¹⁶ *Zeduken* = *Situwaka*.

¹⁷ *Roenelle* = *Ruwanwella*.

¹⁸ *Anguellen* = *Hapwella*.

¹⁹ *Matualen* = *Mutwal*.

²⁰ *Tonies* = 'dugouts' ('dhonies'). See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'Doney, Dhony.'

²¹ *Cotton* = Kotté (Cotta).

²² Ribeiro gives the following account of the extraction of this oil :—"In the Island is also made oil, and wax of cinnamon, but though many people might find employment in this work, which is of much estimation and value throughout the whole world, I knew only three families who engaged in it. Taking the bruised fruit of the cinnamon, they placed it in caldrons with sufficient water, applying a strong fire for the space of three hours, when they removed it from the heat ; and when it was quite cold they took from the surface a cake like very white tallow, and on the surface of the water were formed 'eyes' as of oil, which were removed with a feather, and dropping them into a bottle, set in sand and exposed to the sun, where the moisture was expelled, and when it was purified they placed it in a large bottle, and in a short time acquired a quantity that sold for a high price. This is the oil so highly prized throughout the whole world, of service in many infirmities. The tallow which they got they called wax, and sent it to India : it is also medicinal for various infirmities. Of it they made tapers, two or four of which were placed on the thrones at festivals, and exhaled such odoriferous smell, that the church appeared to be the facsimile of heaven. None of us distilled the water, not knowing how to manage it, for we were all remiss ; the Hollanders did not lose this opportunity, but were able to extract large quantities easily, for the cinnamon is at hand, with all its sap and spirits, taken from the tree ; it is highly prized now in Europe, whither much is sent, the result being a large profit." (Bk. I., chap. XXI.) See also Valentijn, *Ceylon*, p. 51.

²³ Le Grand says (Lee's Ribeyro, p. 48) :—"During the last century there also fell into decadence the famous town of Cotta, which had been for many years the capital of the emperor of that name. The town was in the middle of a lake : a causeway, very long and narrow, led to it. Colombo was built of its ruins."

²⁴ *Ole* = *ola*.—*Hobson-Jobson* says (s. v. 'Ollah') :—"In older books the term *ola* generally means a native letter."

²⁵ *Oriverel* = Gurubewila : in Ribeiro's map called 'Grubebe' ; in de l'Isle's map in Le Grand's Ribeyro 'Grouably' ; in Valentijn 'Gourbeville,' Goerbevele, and 'Goerbeville' ; in Herport 'Horrenwebel.'

²⁶ 'King's apples.' According to Leo (Ribeyro, p. 68 n.), 'the large mandarin orange.' Of this fruit Ribeiro says :—"Above all [fruits] that the Island possesses, is the King's orange, and it seems to me that if there was the earthly Paradise, with these alone could our first father have been tempted ; for in all the world there cannot be a more excellent apple."

²⁷ I need hardly say that neither of these statements has the slightest foundation in fact.

²⁸ This sentence is printed so. It will be seen that the author repeats it further on and completes it.

²⁹ *Goalen* = Galle.

³⁰ Of course the writer meant "Trinquenemaley" (Trincomalee).

³¹ *Areck* = 'arecanuts,' the trade in which was jealously monopolised by the Dutch. Ribeiro says (Bk. I., chap. III.) :—"There are sent every year from the kingdom of Cotta no less than a thousand *champanas* (which are like smaeks of forty tons burden) of areca. This article has a large consumption throughout the whole of India." In Le Grand's translation of Ribeiro this statement assumes the following form :—"From the kingdom of Cotta alone they export yearly more than a thousand boatloads, of *sixty* tons each, of a *certain sand*, which has a great sale throughout all India." To this Lee puts the following note :—"I cannot discover what this sand is—no article of export of the kind is found now." Tennent, in commenting on this, says :—"But as Le Grand made his translation from the Portuguese manuscript of the author, it is probable that by a clerical error the word *arena* may have been substituted for *areca*, the restoration of which solves the mystery." Here Tennent commits another error, for *areca* (modern *areia*), and not *arena*, is the Portuguese word for 'sand.' Moreover, I doubt if the manuscript from which Le Grand made his translation was the author's original, for this, published in Lisbon in 1836, by the Royal Academy of Sciences, reads *areca*; but a manuscript in my possession, formerly in the library of the late Dr. Burnell, reads *area*, and I think it probable that this is the manuscript which was used by Le Grand. It is curious that Le Grand did not detect the error, for in his addition to the chapter in question he describes the areca, and mentions the fact of its large export from Ceylon.

³² Valentijn mentions this horso, and the "Beknopte Historie" states that the Governor ordered from Persia and sent to the Kandyan king "a lion, horses, tigers, and falcons." (See for further particulars Tennent, II., p. 48 n.³)

³³ Tho "Beknopte Historie" says :—"..... the chief Secretary of State, in the month of May of the same year, arrived by water very suddenly and without any previous notice, being accompanied by a large suite and extraordinary pomp; delivering his message after the usual superstitious ceremonials, namely, that the young Prince was ere long to be appointed and proclaimed Emperor, whereupon hurrahs on behalf of the Company immediately followed, and three discharges of muskets and thirty-one cannon shots were fired in token of satisfaction. As speedily as this Envoy had come, even such haste did he make to depart, for he left the selfsame evening." Then follow details of the matters discussed by the Governor and the Envoy during this hurried visit.

³⁴ The "Beknopte Historie" says :—"Meanwhile the Envoy *Alados*, who had been sent, returned from *Candia*, without having been

able to bring about any of the preliminaries regarding the negotiations of peace, or to obtain the release of the rest of the *Netherlanders* and other prisoners. But in the month of June of the same year appeared in Colombo the Dewekaro Mahamohotiaar with nine captive *Hollanders*, making known the King's investiture as Emperor, as also that H. M. had granted absolute permission and qualification that the Hon. the Com. might peel cinnamon everywhere in the upper corles, on condition that the King should always be informed beforehand when the Chialias were to go into the jungle. The aforesaid investiture of the King was thereupon celebrated by the *Hollanders* solemnly and ostentatiously, everyone, black and white, shouting 'Long live the King!' being the ordinary exclamations of sovereignty and submission. Shortly after this it was resolved that the Envoy formerly sent, *Alebos*, should go as Ambassador a second time to congratulate the young Monarch and present him with the gifts on behalf of the Comp.; while at the same time he was given ample instructions and authority to treat for peace, conformably with the draft contract drawn up, the contents of which were as follows:—"and then follow the provisions.

³⁵ "*Aldea*, s. a village; also a villa. Port. from the Ar. *al-dai'a*, a farm or villa." (*Hobson-Jobson*.)

³⁶ So printed: but apparently a *lapsus pennæ* of the writer's for *Pijl*. At this time Laurens Pil, junior, was Governor of Coromandel. (See Valentijn, *Choromandel*, p. 15.)

³⁷ We learn from the "Beknopte Historie" that the Secretary *Alebos* returned to Colombo in September, 1688, having been unsuccessful in his mission. Full details are given of his negotiations with the Kandyan monarch, who finally gave him his *congé*, stating that he wished to have direct communication with the Governor himself. It is also stated that after the return of *Alebos* an 'óla' was received from the Kandyan court, written by order of the King, detailing his various grievances and returning the draft contract brought by *Alebos* for the Governor's own perusal and opinion. It is further recorded that at the end of the year two 'ólas' were brought from Kandy by some chiefs, one of these 'ólas' stating that the King was coming to the low country to confor with the Governor; and the other that his Majesty demanded, besides the opening of the ports, the cession to him of all the 'Pagodas' situated near the sea, that the Sighalese might enjoy freedom of religion. To the first 'óla' reply was made, that, as a Governor could not leave his place unless another of higher or equal rank were sent, he must, in order not to go contrary to the orders of his superiors, forego the pleasure of receiving and speaking with his Majesty. With respect to the second 'óla,' answer was sent that delay and patience were asked for, until their Excellencies' orders were given. It is also stated that in the following year (1689) a very offensive letter was received from the Kandyan court, to which a very strong reply was sent. Valentijn's account of the events of this period

is very brief : it is as follows :—" Anno 1684 to 1685, two other envoys were sent by Heer *Pyl* to Candi, of whom we have already spoken somewhat. They were two Sergeants, *Michiel Ram* and *Lamsweerde*, who went thither, with the promise when they returned that they should obtain an Ensignship. I saw them both after their return thence, Anno 1686, and spoke with them, as I have said elsewhere, but have not mentioned that *Raja Singa* was then still alive, and was quite 86 or 87 years old. Anno 1685 came Heer *Henrik Adriaan van Rhee*, Lord of Drakesteyn and of Meydrecht, Commissary-General, here as Commissary, the only one (so far as I know) who was ever here ; but what his Excellency did here is unknown to me. After that *Raja Singa* lived until 12th Dec., 1687, and was then succeeded by his son *Mahastane*, under the name of *Finala Darma Soeria Maharaja* (as was written to me from India, but under the name of *Wimele Dahan Soeri*, as appears from a memorial of the Governor *Simon*) whom *Raja Singa* before his death had very earnestly recommended to live at peace with us, as he also had very strictly done. When the latter became Emperor, he was very superstitious, relying in everything mostly on his priests."

³⁸ *Basuurt* = 'bazaar.' See below, note 42, and for various spellings see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.

³⁹ *Mistiches*, i.e. half-castes ; Port. *mestiço*, a mixling. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'Mustoes, Mestiz.'

⁴⁰ *Toepasses*, i.e., persons with some European blood in them. On the origin of the word see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'Topaz, Topass.'

⁴¹ "Cayman" is of course an American word, but seems to have been used generally by the Dutch in the East in former days. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.

⁴² *Passer* = 'bazaar' ! (See note 38.)

⁴³ That is, for Batavia.

⁴⁴ That is, on his voyage back to Holland.

⁴⁵ *Kapkok* = 'cabook.' *Hobson-Jobson* says :—"The word is perhaps the Portuguese *cabouco* or *cavouco*, 'a quarry.' " This seems very probable, and it is likely that the blocks of laterite were called by the Portuguese *pedras de cavouco*, 'quarry stones,' and by a process familiar in English the last word after a time came to be retained as the name of the material. Heydt (1744) calls the substance 'Cupock-stones.'

⁴⁶ *Tang* = 'tank.' On the uncertain origin of this word, so familiar to all residents in India and Ceylon, see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.

⁴⁷ *Gaalen* = Galle. (See note 26.)

⁴⁸ In original *negrye* = 'niggery.'

⁴⁹ *Mousson* = 'monsoon.' On the history of this word see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.

⁵⁰ In original "deselfde": but surely an error for "de sesde" ('the sixth.').

⁵¹ Baldaeus (1672) gives a couple of plans of Colombo,—one as it was when the Dutch took it from the Portuguese, and the other as it was after the conquerors had improved it and built stronger fortifications. A comparison of the latter plan with Dr. Daalman's description shows that, at the time the latter visited Colombo, the "old town" was little altered, the twelve squares or cubes of houses being shown in the plan, with the churchyard in the centre; but the interior of the "castle" had undergone considerable change, only four blocks of buildings and the church being shown in the plan. Wouter Schouten (1676) has only a very brief description of Colombo, but gives a curious, and apparently somewhat fanciful, view of the town and harbour from the sea. Valentijn (1726) does not, unfortunately, give a plan of Colombo, but only six plates showing the Governor's house, garden, &c. However, he has a pretty fair description of the fort and the old town. Heydt, in his "Allerneuester Geographisch and Topographischer Schau-Platz von Africa and Ost-Indien" (1744), gives two views of Colombo as it appeared from the sea, from sketches taken in 1734 and 1735, and a somewhat detailed description of the place. With the plans, sketches, and descriptions mentioned above may be compared the description and plan given by Capt. Percival in his work on Ceylon (1805). Other descriptions of Colombo in the Dutch times will be found in Saar (1662), Langhans (1705), and Eschelskroon (1781). Descriptions of Colombo under the Portuguese will be found in Gaspar Correa (156—), who gives an account of the erection of the first fortress and factory in 1518, illustrated by a curious drawing; Barretto de Resende (1646), who illustrates his description by a brilliantly coloured and most valuable plan (Sloane MS. 197, in the British Museum); and Ribeiro (1685); the plan given by Le Grand in his French translation being, however, very poor and not agreeing with Ribeiro's description.

⁵² *Pagger* = Javanese *pagár*, 'an enclosure.'

⁵³ The fullest details of the events here briefly narrated are given by Baldaeus, Ribeiro, and Saar. It will be noticed that Dr. Daalman confirms the character given to Major van der Laan by the Portuguese writer whose interesting narrative is translated in Baldaeus (I quote from the English translation in Churchill's *Voyages*):—".....Major *Van der Laan* (a mortal enemy of the *Portugueses*, and a zealous heretic) having received a wound in the cheek, took a most barbarous revenge from all the *Portugueses* he met with, who were all massacred in the woods (sometimes twenty and thirty together) by his orders in cool blood, he having often been heard to say, *that if the Portugueses were at his disposal, he would cut them all off at one stroke.*" So that the marginal note of the English translator, "This must be look'd upon as a Calumny," was hardly justified.

NOTES ON CERTAIN JĀTAKAS RELATIVE TO
THE SCULPTURES RECENTLY DISCOVERED
IN NORTHERN INDIA.

BY L. DE ZOYSA, MUDALIYĀR.

[A PAPER bearing the above title was read before a General Meeting of the Society on November 2, 1874. At a Committee Meeting held on February 1, 1875, it was resolved "that another number of the Journal, including the translations of the Jātakas referred to in General Cunningham's report of his recent discoveries, be published at the earliest possible date." No Journal however, was issued until 1879: meanwhile several Papers (including the above*) which had been read before General Meetings were lost sight of, and have never been printed. Recently, among the miscellaneous papers left by the late Maha Mudaliyār Louis De Zoysa, was found the following "Supplementary Note" on the sculptures at Bharhut. This Note does not seem to have been read before the Society, but may well find a place in the Journal even after the lapse of years. An "Appendix" of correspondence, &c., bearing on the subject has been added.—B., *Hon. Sec.*]

IN connection with the paper I had the honour to read at the General Meeting of the Society held on November 2, 1874, on some of the sculptures representing Jātakas of Buddha recently discovered by Major-General Cunningham, Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, at Bharhut [Appendix A, B], I have the pleasure to submit a Note on some other sculptures found at the same place, and on which there is an exceedingly interesting correspondence in the *Academy*, which Professor

* E. g., "Text and translation of a rock inscription at Pēpiliyāpa," by L. De Zoysa, Mudaliyār (Read June 3, 1873); "Translation from the *Pansiya-panas Jātaka*," by L. De Zoysa, Mudaliyār (Read September 25, 1873); "On a snake found in the Southern Province, supposed to be new to Ceylon," by W. Ferguson, Esq. (Read November 2, 1874).

Childers had the kindness to send me, and in which he himself has taken the most prominent part. The other gentlemen who have taken part in the discussion are Professor Max Müller, Mr. James Fergusson, and the Rev. Samuel Beal [Appendix C].

In the *Academy* of November 21 last [1874] Professor Max Müller introduced the subject to public attention. In the *Academy* of November 28 Professor Childers proposed emendations of some of the readings of General Cunningham. In that of December 5 is a further contribution from Professor Childers, adducing a most important and interesting extract from Buddhaghosa's *Atthakathá* on "*Pansiya-panas-Játaka*," confirmatory of the emendations he has proposed, and one from Mr. Beal expressing his views. In the *Academy* of December 12 there is another letter on the subject from Professor Childers, and one from Mr. James Fergusson, giving utterance to his views on some of the points at issue.

One of the most interesting of these legends is thus noticed by General Cunningham in his Memorandum on his discovery, published in the Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society for May, 1874, p. 115 [Appendix B] :—

"A second bas-relief represents a Nága chief kneeling before the Bódhi tree, attended by a number of Nága followers. This scene is named *E'rapáto Nága Rájá Bhagavató vandate*, that is, '*E'rapátra*, the Nága Rájá, worships Buddha.'"

With reference to the above legend Professor Childers remarks :—"This rendering is quite inadmissible, first, because *Bhagavato* is a genitive, while *vandate* governs an accusative; and, secondly, because the Bó tree which the Nága king is worshipping can by no possibility be called *Bhagavat*, which is the usual designation of a Buddha. All becomes easy if we supply the word *Bódhi*, which has doubtless either become effaced, or escaped General Cunningham's notice, and read *Bhagavató Bódhi vandate*, 'worships Buddha's Bó tree.' I have before me a photograph of this bas-relief. It is executed with great spirit, and is of singular

interest, as it gives us what is probably a faithful representation of the famous tree at Buddhagayā, an off-shoot of which still flourishes in Ceylon."

It appears from the correspondence published in the *Academy* that the reading proposed by Mr. Childers has been controverted by Messrs. Beal and Fergusson, and on other than grammatical grounds. The former contends that the worship of the Nāga Rāja was directed to Buddha and not to the tree, and the latter says:—

"I am afraid the materials do not yet exist in this country for any satisfactory discussion regarding General Cunningham's wonderful discoveries at Bharahut.

"I feel convinced the Professor must be mistaken in his alteration; in the first place because that part of the inscription which is visible in the photographs (one-half is in shadow) is so clear and distinct—the letters so deeply and sharply cut that it seems inconceivable that one so long familiar with this simplest of alphabets could have made such a mistake. A more important point, which any one looking at the photograph can decide for himself, is that the tree which E'rapatra is worshipping is not the Bódhi tree of the last Buddha at all, but one of a totally different species. Fortunately, in the same photograph, there is another bas-relief from another pillar, representing a tree which two men are worshipping—in a rather eccentric manner, it must be confessed, by holding their tongues between their fingers and thumbs. Above, flying figures (Gándharvas) are bringing wreaths as offerings, and below is a perfectly distinct inscription, which General Cunningham reads:—'*Bhagavató Sakamuninó Bódhi*' ('the Bó tree of Sákya Muni'). Now it requires only a very slight knowledge of botany, and still slighter familiarity with the sculptures at Sanchi, to see at once, even without the inscription, that this sculpture is intended to represent the Peepul tree (*Ficus religiosa*), which is, and always was, the Bó tree of the last Buddha, and which, or whose lineal descendants, still grows at Buddhagayā and Anurádhapura. On the other hand, the

tree which E'rapatra is worshipping is a flowery tree of a totally distinct species, but for the identification of which the photograph is not sufficiently clear. Although, therefore, the Professor's emendation may make the inscription more grammatical,—on this I am not competent to express an opinion,—it appears to me to have the insuperable defect that it contradicts the facts represented in the bas-relief to which it is attached. The General's interpretation, on the contrary, perfectly accords with them."

On the receipt of the copies of the *Academy* I searched for the story of E'rapatra Nága Rája, and was fortunate enough to meet with it. I have found it in Buddhaghósa's *Atthakathá* on "Dhammapada," a work well known in Europe from Dr. Fausböll's edition, and Professor Max Müller's translation of the text. Dr. Fausböll, however, does not give the legend of E'rapatra, although he inserts a few scholia from the Commentary explanatory of the verse in which the story is founded (*vide* Fausböll's "Dhammapada," p. 344). The moment I read the legend I felt that my esteemed friend Professor Childers had committed a mistake, and it was with much regret that I found myself opposed to his views. I lost no time in communicating to him the substance of the legend as found in the "Dhammapada" *Atthakathá*, and the grounds on which I felt compelled to differ from him. [Appendix D, E.]

The legend distinctly states that E'rapatra Nága Rája "worshipped Buddha," and that he (Buddha) was seated at the foot of a *Sirisa tree* when the serpent king came to pay him his respects; and so, I think, there can be no doubt that the tree before which the Nága Rája was kneeling must be the "Sirisa tree," at the foot of which Buddha sat when receiving the serpent king.

The legend thus seems to me to remove all the doubts on the subject, and to harmonise in a most remarkable manner all the discordant elements which, in the absence of the story, seemed to surround the legend depicted in the stone.

Taking the legend then as recorded by Buddhaghósa for the stand-point whence to view the question, there seems to be justification for saying that General Cunningham is wrong in supposing that the tree before which the Nága Rája was kneeling was the Bódhi tree of Buddha, although he is correct in translating the legend: "E'rapatra the Nága Rája worships Buddha,"—that Professor Childers is wrong in supposing that the Serpent King worshipped the Bó tree,—that Mr. Fergusson is singularly sagacious and correct in his belief that the tree which the Nága Rája worshipped was not the Bódhi tree of the last Buddha, but a tree of a totally distinct species, although wrong in supposing that "*Bhagavat* is used here to mean only the holy or sacred thing or person, a deity or numen,"—and that Mr. Beal is correct in his supposition that the Nága Rája's worship was directed to Buddha, and not to the tree.

The grammatical objections raised by Professor Childers still remain, but I am inclined to think they can be explained.

Bhagavató is both genitive and dative, and I think in this connection it may be taken as the dative. There is a legend given by General Cunningham which runs thus:—"A^játa-sata *Bhagavató vandate*" ("A^játasata worships Buddha"). *Bhagavató* is certainly in the dative case here, and is governed by *vandate* ("worships"). In Siñhalese, which Professor Childers has so recently and so ably proved to be an Aryan dialect derived from Páli, *vandinawá*, the equivalent to *vandate*, usually governs the dative. We say "*Budunṭa waṇḍinawà*" ("to worship Buddha").

There is also a rule in Páli grammar which seems to have some bearing on this point, to the effect that *namo* ("honour," "reverence," "salutation") governs the dative. The rule occurs in Kachcháyana. It is as follows:—

"*Namo yógádisvapica* (Chatutthi)," i. e., "*Namo*, 'reverence,' 'salutation,' governs the dative, as:—"

I have also found one instance at least in which the verb *nama* (equivalent to *vandate*) governs the dative.

The following line occurs in one of the stanzas in the "Jātaka Pāṭha," a work which presents many irregularities in Pāli grammar: "*Namé namantassa bhaje bhajantaṇ.*" ("I salute him who salutes me, I serve him who serves me").

I am also enabled to propose a material emendation to the reading of another important legend. I allude to the legend regarding the acquisition and presentation of the Jétavana monastery. It is as follows:—"*Jétavana Anádhapedikó deti kóti santhaténa ketá,*" which General Cunningham has translated, "Anádhapedika buys (*ketá*) the Jetavana for certain *hotis* of money." This translation, though verbally inaccurate, is substantially correct. But Professor Max Müller throws doubts on the correctness of the reading, contending that "At present this interpretation must be considered as hypothetical only."

Professor Childers has, however, most satisfactorily removed all doubts on the interpretation of this legend by citing a most important passage from Buddhaghósa's Commentary on the Jātakas, and proposes to read and translate it as follows:—

"*Jétavanaṇ Anádhapedikó deti kóti santhaténa ketá.*" "Anádhapiṇḍikopresents Jétavana, having become its purchaser for a layer of *kóti*." This is the reading which I myself, and I believe others in Ceylon, naturally adopted when the Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society containing an account of the General's discoveries first reached us.

Mr. Childers remarked in the *Academy* of December 12 last:—"It would be interesting to meet with the original and detailed account of the purchase, but at present I confess I do not know where to look for it. It is, however, in one of the early books of the Tripiṭakas, and if so, we shall meet with it sooner or later." This induced me to request the learned High Priest of Adam's Peak to find out for me the account referred to in any of the books of the Tripiṭaka, and he at once referred me to "*Chúla Vagga*," one of the books of the "*Vinaya Piṭaka*," where I was glad to find it. It is substantially the same as the account given by Spence Hardy in

his "Manual of Buddhism," and which has enabled General Cunningham to illustrate this particular legend so well; but it is fuller, more interesting, and of course more authentic and authoritative, than the account taken at second hand from the Siphalese books.

In speaking of the purchase of the Jétavana garden, the expression "*kóṭi santharaṇ santharápési*" occurs in the "Chúla Vagga." I referred to *Samanta Pásádiká*, Buddhaghósa's Commentary on the "Vinaya Piṭaka," to see if there was any explanation of these words in that work, and to my surprise I found the words explained in a different sense from that in which Professor Childers, and, indeed, some very able Páli scholars in Ceylon, had understood. The expression "*kóṭi santharaṇ santharápési*" is thus explained by Buddhaghósa: "*kahápana kotiyá koṭim patpá detivá*" ("laying the *kahápanas* the extremity of one touching the extremity of the other").

I have also found in the *Aṭṭhakathā* the following interesting passage:—

Ye tattha rukkāwā pokkharāṇiyā wā tesaṇ parikkhēpappamāṇaṇ gaheṭwā aññasaminṇ ṭhāné santhāritwā adāsi. Eva-massa aṭṭhārasakóṭiyaṇ ēkaṇ nidhānaṇ parikkhayaṇ agamasi.

සෙ තත්තු රුක්කාවා පොක්කරණියො වා තෙසං පරික්කේ පප්පමාණං ගාහෙට්වා අනුයාමිං ධාතො සංචරිතො අදාසි. එවමසා අභාරසකොටියං ඒකං නිධානං පරික්කියං අගමාසි.

"Were there trees and tanks there (in the garden); he gave the money measuring the space occupied by them, spreading the same in another place. So, a hoard of wealth containing 18 *kóṭi* (180,000,000) was expended (on the acquisition of the property)."

It is therefore clear that the expression "*kóṭi santharaṇ*," or "*kóṭi santhataṇ*," must be rendered by "border of coin touching the other," and not by "*kóṭi* of money," as supposed by General Cunningham and Professor Childers.

I have not had the opportunity of seeing photographs of these inscriptions, but should the copy of this parti-

cular inscription admit of it, I would propose to read it "*Jétavana Anáthapiṇḍiko (Piṇḍiko) dēti kōṭi-santhataṇ kītaṇ.*" "Anáthapiṇḍiko presents Jétavana bought by Kōṭi-santha"). The only alteration I propose is to read "*kītaṇ*" as the participle, instead of "*ketá.*" There appears so much confusion in the vowel symbols *i* and *e* in inscriptions, and the language appears to differ from the modern grammatical Páli, that I think I may be pardoned for suggesting this alteration.

There is another legend which has not been noticed either by Professor Max Müller or Professor Childers, on which I would offer a remark. It is thus given by General Cunningham :—

"*Sudhamma Reva Sabha Bhagavató Chudá Mahá.* The words *Reva Sabha*, I take to mean the assembly or synod which was presided over by the famous Buddhist priest Revato, just 100 years after the death of Buddha, or in B.C. 378."

I have, of course, not seen the photographic copy of the inscription, but from the close resemblance of *ḍ* and *r* in the old Lat alphabet, I should have little hesitation in reading it "*Sudhamu Devasabhá,*" "*Sudhammá* the council of gods," the well-known council of Sakko (Indra) [Appendix F].

APPENDIX.

A.

Camp, March 27, 1874.

DEAR SIR,—I HAVE lately had the good luck to find another great tope of the age of Aśoka, with a sculptured stone railing, which is of the highest interest for the history of Buddhism as well as for the history of India.

Amongst the sculptures there are nearly twenty of the Buddhist legends known as "*Játakas,*" with their titles written over them in characters of Aśoka's age. It is certain, therefore, that the Buddhist legends are as old as the age of Aśoka. Unfortunately I have no means of illustrating the stories of these legends, as I know of no book that gives any account of them. Spence Hardy gives a few

Jātakas, of which I have found two in the semi-Greek bas-reliefs of the Yasufzai sculptures. But these are not older than the beginning of the Christian era.

Under these circumstances, I turn to the Asiatic Society of Ceylon to assist me, if possible, in illustrating some of these curious legends. The names of those of which I am most in want are the following :—
 "Hansa Jātaka" (Story of Bird with Peacock's Tail), "Kinara Jātaka" (Kinas dressed in leaves), "Miga Jātaka" (Antlered deer, not Antelopes) "Maghadeviam Jātaka"? (the Princess Maghadevi), "Majhakiyan Jātaka," "Bhisaharaniya Jātaka," "Lātuwa Jātaka" (Story of Bird and Elephant), "Viturapansaka Jātaka."

If there are any published accounts of Jātakas I shall be most happy to purchase them through any Colombo bookseller, or I shall be glad to pay for any abridged, or full, account of the above Jātakas if any Pāli scholar can be found to translate them for me.

I am very anxious about these Jātakas, as their value is very great on account of their undoubted age, for the sculptured representations show that all the legends here pictured must have been in existence *before the time of Aśoka*.

Besides the legends there are other bas-reliefs of historical subjects, such as one of Ajātasaton, who is labelled overhead *Ajātasata*. There is also a curious scene giving the names of *Rāma*, *Janaka Rāja*, and *Sita Devi*, with their names written over them.

The above meagre account will be sufficient to show the great value of the sculptures which I have discovered ; and I trust that the importance of the subject will be my best excuse for asking the Asiatic Society of Ceylon to assist me in procuring any written accounts of the Buddhist Jātakas which may have been published, or which may be procurable.

I am, &c.,

A. CUNNINGHAM,

Major-General,

Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India.

Rev. F. FALKNER,

Honorary Secretary, Ceylon Asiatic Society.

B.

MEMORANDUM ON THE OPERATIONS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY FOR SEASON 1873-74.

By Major-General A. Cunningham, R.E., C.S.I.

(Proceedings, Bengal A. S., May, 1874, pages 108-116.)

BUT the most interesting remains are at *Bharakut*, six miles to the north-east of *Uchahara*, nine miles to the south-east of the *Sutna*

Railway station, and 120 miles to the south-west of Allahabad. In our maps the place is called *Bharaod*, and I believe that it may be identified with the *Bardaotis* of Ptolemy. It is the site of an old city, which only sixty years ago was covered with a dense jungle. In the midst of this jungle stood a large brick stupa, 68 ft. in diameter, surrounded by a stone railing 88 ft. in diameter and 9 ft. in height. The whole of the stupa has been carried away to build the houses of the present village; but rather more than half of the stone railing still remains, although it has been prostrated by the weight of the rubbish thrown against it when the stupa was excavated. When I first saw the place only three of the railing pillars near the eastern gate were visible above the ground, but a shallow excavation soon brought to light some pillars of the south gate, from which I obtained the measurement of one quadrant of the circle. I was thus able to determine the diameter of the enclosure, the whole of which was afterwards excavated, partly by myself and partly by my assistant Mr. Beglar. In many places the accumulation of rubbish rose to eight feet in height, and as the stone pillars were lying flat underneath this heap, the amount of excavation was necessarily rather great; but the whole work did not occupy more than six weeks, and all that now exists of this fine railing is now exposed to view.

This colonnade of the Bharahut stupa is of the same age and style as that of the great Sanchi stupa near Bhilsa. But the Sanchi railing is quite plain, while the Bharahut railing is profusely sculptured,—every pillar and every rail, as well as the whole coping, being sculptured on both faces, with an inscription on nearly every stone. From the characters of these inscriptions, as in the similar case of the Sanchi stupa, the erection of the railing must be assigned to the age of Asoka, or about B.C. 250.

The inscriptions are mostly records of the gifts of pillars and rails, like those of the Sanchi and other stupas. But there is also a considerable number of descriptive records, or placards, placed either above or below many of the sculptures. These last are extremely valuable, as they will enable us to identify nearly all the principal figures and scenes that are represented in these ancient bas-reliefs.

Amongst the numerous sculptures at Bharahut there are no naked figures as at Sanchi and at Mathura, but all are well clad, and especially the women, whose heads are generally covered with richly-figured cloths, which may be either muslins, or perhaps brocades or shawls. Most of the figures, both male and female, are also profusely adorned with gold and jewelled ornaments, in many of which one of the most significant Buddhist symbols plays a prominent part. The earrings are mostly of one curious massive pattern, which is common to both men and women. The *ankas*, or elephant goad, was also a favourite

ornament, which is placed at intervals in the long necklaces of ladies.

At each of the four entrances the corner pillars bore statues, each 4½ feet in height, of *Yakshas* and *Yakshinis* and of *Nāga Rājas*, to whom the guardianship of the gates was entrusted. Thus at the northern gate there are two male figures and one female, which are respectively labelled *Ajakālaka Yakho*, *Kupiro Yakho*, and *Chadā Yakhi*, that is, the *Yakshas* named *Ajakālaka* and *Kupira* and the *Yakshini* *Chandā*. Other *Yakshas* are named *Suviloma*, *Virudaka*, and *Gangito*, and a second *Yakshini* is labelled *Yakhini Sudasana*. On two other pillars there are male figures, each with a hood canopy of five snakes' heads, and each labelled *Nāga Rāja*. These have their arms crossed upon their breasts in an attitude of devotion, appropriate to their appearance on a Buddhist building. On two middle pillars there are two female statues respectively labelled *Chukāloka Dēvatā* and *Sirmā Dēvatā*, whom I take to be goddesses.

Amongst the scenes represented there are upwards of a dozen of the Buddhist legends called *Jātakas*, all of which relate to the former births of Buddha. Luckily these also have their appropriate inscriptions, or descriptive labels, without which I am afraid that their identification would hardly have been possible. Amongst these *Jātakas* are the following :—

(1.)—*Hansa Jātaka*, or "Goose-birth," of which the only portion now remaining below the inscription is the expanded tail of a peacock, which must therefore have played some part in the story.

(2.)—*Kinara Jātaka*. The *Kinaras* were a kind of demi-god. Here two of them, male and female, are represented with human heads and clad in leaves, standing before some human personage who is seated. The assignment of horses' heads to the *Kinaras* must therefore belong to a later date.

(3.)—*Miga Jātaka*, or the well known legend of the "Deer," in Sanskrit *Mṛiga*. I call it a deer and not an antelope, as is generally understood, because all the animals in this bas-relief are represented with antlers. The king of Kāsi is seen aiming an arrow at the King of the Deer (Buddha).

(4.)—*Maghā Devīya Jātaka*, or "Magha Devi birth." I know nothing of this story.

(5.)—*Yava Majjhakiya Jātaka*. This title means literally the "mean or average amount of food," which was attained by daily increasing the quantity with the waxing moon and decreasing it with the waning moon. I know nothing of the story, but the bas-relief shows a king seated with baskets of grain (?) before him, each bearing a stamp or medallion of a human head. To the left some men are bringing other baskets. Barley (*yava*) would appear to have been the principal food in those days.

(6.)—*Bhisaharaniya Jātaka*. A *rishi* (or sage) is seated in front of

his hut, with a man and woman standing before him, and a monkey seated on the ground, who is energetically addressing the sage. *

(7.)—*Latuwa Jātaka*.—The “*Latuwa-bird-birth*.”—This legend apparently refers to some story of a bird and an elephant, of which I heard a curious version in Kashmir in 1839. In the bas-relief there is a bee stinging the eye and a bird pecking the head of an elephant, with a frog croaking close by, while the elephant is treading on a nest of young birds. To the right the same (or a similar) bird is sitting on the branch of a tree over an elephant who is running away with his tail between his legs. Near the top the hind half of an elephant is seen rushing down some rocks. In my Kashmiri version an elephant while feeding throws down a nest of young birds into a stream, where they are all drowned. The parent bird seeks the aid of the bees and mosquitoes, who attack the elephant with their stings, and having half blinded him he rushes off towards the stream, and plunging headlong down the rocks is drowned. The fable seems intended to show the power of combination. There can be no doubt that the two legends are substantially the same; and it seems probable that we may find other Buddhist *Jātakas* still preserved in modern legends after the lapse of more than 2,000 years. Perhaps this particular legend may be found in the *Pancha Tantra*.

(8.)—*Vitura punakaya Jātaka*.—I know nothing of this story. *Vitura* may perhaps be a mistake for *Vithura*, “a thief.”

Of illustrations of the life of Buddha during his last appearance there are some good examples. The earliest of these is a medallion containing Māyā's dream of the white elephant, which is superscribed *Bhagavatō Ukdanti*. A second scene belongs to the reign of *Ajāta Satru*, king of Magadha, in the eighth year of whose reign Buddha attained *Nirvāna*. This is labelled *Ajātasata Bhagavatō vandate*.

Some of the well known assemblies of the Buddhists would also appear to be represented, of which one is called the *Jatila Sabha*, of which I know nothing. A second belongs, I think, to a later period of Buddhist history, about midway between the death of

* *Bhisa hananiya Jātaka*. The name of this *Jātaka* is not found amongst the 550 *Jātakas* of Ceylon, and I feel doubtful as to its meaning. There are five actors in the scene: a Rishi, or male ascetic, a female ascetic, a layman, an elephant, and a monkey. The Rishi and the monkey are both seated and are both speaking. The female ascetic, whose right shoulder is bare, is addressing the Rishi, and the layman is making an offering of lotus stalks; behind the Rishi is his hut. It seems probable that the presentation of our lotus stalks has been the origin of the tale of the *Jātaka*, as *bhisa* is one of the names for “lotus,” and *hananiya* means either “bringing,” or “seizing,” or “stealing.” The meaning of the name may, therefore, be simply the “Lotus Offering *Jātaka*.”—L. de Z.

Buddha and the reign of Aśoka. This sculpture represents a large assembly and is duly labelled—

Sudhamma Reva Sabha Bhagavato Chudh Mahā.—The words *Reva Sabha* I take to mean the assembly or synod which was presided over by the famous Buddhist Priest Revato just 100 years after the death of Buddha, or in B.C. 378.

But the Bharahut sculptures are not confined to the legends and events connected with the career of Buddha, as there is at least one bas-relief which illustrates a famous scene in the life of Rāma. In this sculpture there are only three figures, of which one seated to the left is holding out an arrow towards a male and female who stand before him—the latter being behind the other. These figures are labelled respectively *Rāma* (the rest lost, but most probably *Chandra*), *Janaka Rāja*, and *Sītala Devi*. I believe that this is by far the earliest notice that we possess of the great solar hero Rāma and his wife.

I look upon the discovery of these curious sculptures as one of the most valuable acquisitions that has yet been made to our knowledge of ancient India. From them we can learn what was the dress of all classes of the people of India during the reign of Aśoka, or about three quarters of a century after the death of Alexander the Great. We can see the queen of India decked out in all her finery, with a flowered shawl or muslin sheet over her head, with massive earrings and elaborate necklaces, and a petticoat reaching to the midleg, which is secured round the waist by a zone of seven strings, as well as by a broad and highly ornamented belt.

Here we can see the soldier with short curly hair, clad in a long jacket or tunic, which is tied at the waist, and a *dhoti* reaching below the knees, with long boots ornamented with tassels in front just like Hessians, and armed with a straight broad sword, of which the scabbard is three inches wide.

Here also we may see the standard-bearer on horseback, with a human-headed bird surmounting the pole. Here, too, we can see the king mounted on an elephant escorting a casket of relics. The curious horse-trappings and elephant-housings of the time are given with full and elaborate detail.

Everywhere we may see the peculiar Buddhist symbol which crowns the great stupa at Sānchi used as a favourite ornament. It forms the drop of an earring, the clasp of a necklace, the support of a lamp, the crest of the royal standard, and the decoration of the lady's broad belt and of the soldier's scabbard.

There are also houses of many kinds, and several temples, one of which is labelled *Vijayata pāsāde*, or the "Temple of Victory." There are animals of several kinds, as elephants, horses, deer, cows, and monkeys, and a single specimen of a real tapir. There are numerous crocodiles and fishes, and in one sculpture there is a very large fish, which is represented swallowing two boat-loads of men. There is also

a great variety of flowers, and several kinds of fruits, amongst which the mango is very happily treated.

But perhaps the most curious of the Bharahut sculptures are a few scenes of broad humour, with elephants and monkeys as the only characters. In two of these an elephant has been captured by a band of monkeys, who have fastened a billet of wood along the inside of his trunk so as to prevent him from moving it. Ropes are fastened to his neck and body, the ends of which are pulled by monkeys, who are walking and dancing in triumphal procession to the sound of shells and cymbals played by other monkeys. The spirit of these scenes is very droll. A third scene represents the monkeys holding a giant by the nose with a pair of pincers, to which is fastened a rope dragged by an elephant. The action and attitudes of the monkeys are very good. The intention of all these designs is exceedingly spirited, but the execution is coarse and weak.

In the short inscriptions on the railing of the Bharahut stupa, I find the names of the following places: *Sugana*, or *Srughna*; *Vedisa*, or *Bhilsa*; *Pátaliputra*, or *Patna*; *Kosámbi*, or *Kosam*; *Nandinagarika*, or *Nander*; and *Násika*, or *Násik*; besides a number of unknown places, of which *Anitamasá* is most probably some town on the river *Tamasá* or *Tamas*, the Tons of our maps.

From these inscriptions also I have learned the names of several parts of the Buddhist gateways and railings, one of which is a new word, or at least a new form of word, not to be found in the dictionaries.

On the top of *Lál Pahár*, or the "Red Hill," which overhangs Bharahut, I obtained a rock inscription of one of the great *Kalachuri* Rajas, Nara Sinha Deva, dated in Samvat (Sake) 909. Altogether Mr. Beglar and I have collected about twenty inscriptions of the *Kalachuris*, who took the titles of *Chedindra* and *Chedinarendra*, or "Lord of Chedi," and called the era which they used the *Chedi Samvat* and the *Kalachuri Samvat*.

I have also got an inscription of the great Chalukya Raja, Tribhuvana Malla, who began to reign in A.D. 1076, and reigned 51 years. The inscription is dated in Sake 1008, or A.D. 1086, and the place of its discovery, Sitabaldi, confirms the account of his having conducted an expedition across the Narbada.

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Bharahut.

A further examination of the inscriptions, and the receipt of Mr. Beglar's report of the completion of the excavations, have made several very valuable additions to my account of the Bharahut sculptures, of which I will now give a brief description.

A bas-relief, labelled with the name of *Pasenajita*, shows the well-known King of Kosala in a chariot drawn by four horses proceeding to pay his respects to the Buddhist Wheel symbol, which is appropriately named *Bhagavato dhamma chakam*.

A second bas-relief represents a Nāga chief kneeling before the Bodhi tree, attended by a number of Nāga followers. This scene is named *Erapāto Nāga Rāja Bhagavato vandate*, that is, "Erapātra, the Nāga Rāja, worships Buddha."

The following *Jātakas* have also been found by Mr. Beglar :
(1) *Uḍa Jātaka*, (2) *Senchha Jātaka*, (3) *Birila* (read *Birāla*) *Jātaka*—(or) *Kukuta Jātaka*, (4) *Isimibo Jātaka*, (5) *Nāga Jātaka*, and
(6) *Chhadantiya Jātaka*.

A single bas-relief gives a party of female dancers attended by female musicians. The attitudes are the same as at the present day ; but the four female dancers are intended for *Apsaras*, as they are separately labelled,—*Alambusa Achharā*, *Subhuda Achharā*, *Padumānati Achharā*, and *Misakosi Achharā*.

There are also representations of five separate *Bodhi* trees of as many different Buddhas, which are distinctly labelled as follows :—

(1).—*Bhagavato Vipasino Bodhi*, that is, the tree of *Vipasyin* or *Vipasvi*, the first of the seven Buddhas.

(2).—*Bhagavato Kakusadhasa Bodhi*.

(3).—*Bhagavato Konagamani Bodhi*.

(4).—*Bhagavato Kasapasa Bodhi*.

(5).—*Bhagavato Sakamunino Bodhi*.

These last are the four well known Buddhas named *Krakuchhanda*, *Konagamani*, *Kāsyapa*, and *Sākyamuni*.

But by far the most interesting of all Mr. Beglar's discoveries is a bas-relief representing the famous *Jetavana* monastery at *Śrāvastī*. The scene is labelled *Jetavana Anāthapadikaṃ dati kotī santhatena ketā*, which I take to mean that "Anāthapadika buys (*ketā*) the *Jetavana* for certain *kotīs* of money." To the left, there is a building labelled *Kosambikuti*, a name which has already appeared in my *Śrāvastī* inscription. A second building near the top is labelled *Gudhakuti* or *Gandhakuti*. In the foreground there is a cart which has just been unladen, with the pole and yoke tilted upwards, and the bullocks at one side. The story of the purchase of Prince Jeta's garden by Anāthapindika for eighteen *kotīs* of *masurans* is told in Spence Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism." According to the legend, Prince Jeta, not wishing to sell the garden, said that he would not part with it for a less sum than would pave the whole area when the pieces of money (*masurans*) were laid out touching each other. This offer was at once accepted by Anāthapindika, and accordingly the court-yard is represented covered with ornamented squares, which touch each other like the squares of a chess board, but do not break bond as a regular pavement of stones or tiles would do. For this reason I take the squares to represent the square pieces of old Indian money. Beside the cart there are two figures with pieces in their hands. These I suppose to be Anāthapindika himself and a friend counting out the money. In the middle of the court are two other figures also with square pieces in

their hands. These I suppose to be the purchaser's servants, who are laying down the coins touching each other. To the left are several persons of rank looking on, whom I take to be Prince Jeta and his friends. The whole scene is very curious; and when we remember that the bas-relief is as old as the time of Aśoka, it does not seem too rash to conclude that we have before us a rude representation of the buildings of the famous Jetavana which were erected by Anáthapindika during the lifetime of Buddha.

One of the new inscriptions discovered by Mr. Beglar is also interesting, as we get the name of a king who must have been a contemporary of Aśoka. This record is as follows:—" (Gift) of the Prince Vádha Pála, son of Raja Dhanabhuti."

A. CUNNINGHAM, Major-General,
Director-General of Archæological Survey of India.

C.

GENERAL CUNNINGHAM'S DISCOVERIES AT BHARHUT.*

WE called attention some time ago (*Academy*, August 1) to the important discoveries lately made by General Cunningham, the Director of the Archæological Survey in India. They were dwelt on by Mr. Grant Duff in his address before the Archæological Section of the International Congress of Orientalists, and excited the keenest interest among foreign scholars who were then present. Unfortunately, no sketches or photographs of the ruins of Bharhut had been sent from India in time for the Congress. General Cunningham, however, has now returned to Bharhut (this is his own spelling of the name), and is at present engaged in taking photographic copies of all that is important among the ruins of the old Buddhist Stūpa. Some of them have been received, and convey an idea of the real state in which the sculptures and the inscriptions are found. On the pillar which contains the scene of the Jetavana garden being bought by Anáthapindika by covering the ground with pieces of gold, we see indeed something that may be construed as representing that famous event; but it is doubtful whether, without the inscription underneath, anyone, even if he possessed the learning and sagacity of Mr. Beal, could have guessed its real meaning. The inscription, of which there is both a small photograph and a rubbing on paper, is likewise not quite clear. In the centre some of the letters are injured, and as it now stands it is difficult to discover the exact grammatical construction. It reads:—"jetavana anádha (tha) pedi ko da (?) ti ko ti sam thatena ketá (to)."

The letter read "dh" in "Anádha," may be meant for "th," but "pediko" cannot be made to stand for "pindaka" or "pindadu," nor can "ketá" stand for "kríto," 'bought.' "Samthata" might be the

* *Academy*, November 21, 1874, pp. 570-1.

Sanskrit "samstrita," "spreading out." As the number of inscriptions seems considerable, they may in time throw light on each other, and enable us to form a more exact idea of the Pāli dialect in which they are written. At present, the interpretation must be considered as hypothetical only.

General Cunningham is fully aware how much depends on fixing a date for these ruins. The style of the architecture, the character of the sculptures, the shape of the letters, all would seem to point to an early date, to a date anterior to our era; but the less positive archæologists are in fixing dates on such evidence, the better for the free progress of scientific inquiry. General Cunningham's chief argument in favour of ascribing the original building to the age of Asoka, is derived from an inscription engraved on one of the pillars of the east gateway. It reads as follows:—

"Suganam rāge rāgna gāgīputasa visadevasa potena gatiputasa agarāgasa putena vākhiputena dhanabhūtiṇa kāritaṃ toranāṃ silākam-mata ka upamaṇa."

Bābu Rajendra Lal Mittra, whom General Cunningham consulted, explained it:—

"In the kingdom of Sugana (Srughna) this Toran, with its ornamental stone work and plinth, was caused to be made by King Dhanabhūti, son of Vākhi and Agarāga, son of Gati, and grandson of Visa, son of Gāgī."

A comparison with the original shows that the translation cannot be accepted, and General Cunningham has therefore proposed the following:—

"In the kingdom of Sugana, this Toran (ornamental arch), with its carved stone work and plinth, was caused to be made by Vākhiputra's pupil, Rāga Dhanabhūti, the son of Gatiputra's pupil, Agarāga, and the grandson of Gāgīputra's pupil, Visva Deva."

General Cunningham points out that two of these names, Gatiputra and Vākhiputra had already appeared in the Bhilsa inscriptions, and he holds that Gāgīputra, Gatiputra, and Vākhiputra are the names of Buddhist teachers, and that the kings named in the inscription are their spiritual pupils. He then argues, that in the Bhilsa records the two names of Gatiputra and Vākhiputra hold the same relative position chronologically which they do in the Bharhut inscription; that Vākhiputra is said to be the pupil of Gatiputra, and that consequently Aga Rāga and Vākhiputra were fellow-pupils. He thinks it was due to this connection, that Aga Rāga selected Vākhiputra as the teacher of his own son Dhanabhūti. Lastly, as the famous Mogaliputra was likewise a pupil of Gatiputra (see *Bhilsa Topes*, plate xxix. No. 9), and as he was seventy-two years of age at the meeting of Asoka's Synod 242 B.C., General Cunningham concludes that his fellow-pupils Vākhiputra and Aga Rāga must have flourished towards the end of Bindusāra's reign, or about 270 B.C., while Dhanabhūti, the pupil of Vākhiputra, cannot be placed later than 240 B.C.

This argument is certainly ingenious, but it rests on an explanation of the names Gágiputra, Gátiputra, and Vákhiputra, which can hardly be accepted. The custom of taking the mother's name was common in the early ages of Buddhism. King Agátasatru is called Vaidehíputra, meaning either the "son of Veidehí" or "the son of a Vaideha woman." In the genealogies of the Yagurveda the same system prevails. The name of Gágriputra which is mentioned there, is probably the same as the Buddhist name Gagíputra. It would be impossible to suppose that king Agátasatru was called Vaidehíputra, because this was his teacher's name; and the same difficulty will be felt by most scholars with regard to King Dhanabhúti Vakhíputra, King Agarága Gatiputra, and King Visadeva Gágiputra.

Another argument in favour of the early date of the Bharhut ruins advanced by General Cunningham is of great value. About three years ago, he says, a small hoard of silver coins was found in a field near Jwalamukhi, which comprised five coins of the native princes Amoghabhúti, Dára Gosha, and Vámika, along with some thirty specimens of the Philopator coin of Apollodatus. There were no other coins in the hoard, and as the coins of Apollodatus, as well as those of the native princes, were all quite fresh and new, the whole must have been buried during the reign of Apollodatus, or not later than 150 B.C. The Indian characters on the coins of the native princes have all got heads, or *mátrás*, added to them, while several of them have assumed considerable modification in their forms, more particularly the "g," "m," "gh," which have become angular on the coins. But these letters are invariably round in all the Bharhut inscriptions, exactly like those of the known Asoka records. The absolute identity, therefore, of the forms of the Bharhut characters with those of the Asoka period is a very strong proof that they must belong to the same age.

With regard to king Amogha, General Cunningham adds that the name which Mr. Thomas reads Krananda, and which he tried to identify with Xandrames, is really Kuninda. The inscription reads:—

"Ragna Kunindasa Amoghahutisa Maharagasa," Kuninda being the name of a people. The same custom of giving the national name prevails in the Mádhyamika coins, two specimens of which were given by Prinsep, but upside down. The legend is:—

"Maghimikáya sibiganapadasa," "coin of the Maghimikáya of the county of Sibi."

Sibi is the scene of the Vessantara Gátaka, situated in the neighbourhood of Chetiya, and if Chetiya was Vidisa or Bhilsa, Sibi would be Ujavi or Chitor, the very place where Prinsep's two coins were found, and where General Cunningham discovered eight more of the same type. According to him, Sibi would be the true original of Siwálíká, which among the early Mohammedans included all the hilly country to the south of Delhi. Equally important are numerous coins (several hundreds) of the Málavána, another people mentioned in the Mahábhárata. Their legends are written in various characters.

from the time of Asoka to the age of the Guptas, or perhaps even later. These ethnic coins, General Cunningham remarks, and especially those of the Maghimikāya, are the highest triumph of Indian numismatics.

MAX MÜLLER.

THE BHARHUT SCULPTURES.*

38, Clanricarde Gardens, November 23, 1874.

I AM glad that Dr. Max Müller has drawn attention to the text of the Bharhut inscriptions, and I think it is clear that in some instances General Cunningham's readings require revision. Thus at page III of the Proceedings we have a Yaksha whose name is read as "Suviloma," a word which occurs neither in Sanskrit nor in Pāli; but if we alter it to "Suchiloma," we obtain a proper name well known in Sanskrit literature, and which, moreover, belongs to a Yaksha mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures. In Sir M. Coomara Swamy's newly-published *Sutta Nipāta*, an important contribution to Buddhist literature, will be found (p. 75) the translation of a sūtra which takes its name from the Yaksha Suchiloma, to whom, in answer to a question, Gautama Buddha recites three religious verses. Though it is not so stated, we may fairly conclude that the Yaksha became a convert to Buddhism, and thus obtained a niche in the Bharhut temple of fame.

Again, at page 115, General Cunningham reads an inscription as *Erapāto nāgarāja Bhagavato vandate*, and translates it "Erapātra the Nāga Rāja worships Buddha." This rendering is quite inadmissible, first because *Bhagavato* is a genitive, while *vandate* governs an accusative; and secondly, because the Bó tree which the Nāga king is worshipping can by no possibility be called "Bhagavat," which is the usual designation of a Buddha. All becomes easy if we supply the word *bódhim*, which has doubtless either become effaced or escaped General Cunningham's notice, and read *Bhagavato bodhim vandate*, "worships the Buddha's Bó tree." I have before me a photograph of this bas-relief. It is executed with great spirit, and is of singular interest, as it gives us what is probably a faithful representation of the famous tree at Buddhagaya, an off-shoot of which still flourishes in Ceylon.

I must say that I do not share Dr. Max Müller's scepticism with regard to the important Jétavana inscription. With two or three trifling emendations it reads as follows:—*Jétavanam Anáthapindikō deti kótisanthanatena ketā*. "Anáthapindika presents Jétavana, having become its purchaser for a layer of kotis." I have not the photograph before me, but I suppose it represents both scenes, the purchase of the ground and the gift of the monastery. The only serious difficulty of the inscription is the presence of the letter *e* in the second word. But

* *Academy*, November 23, 1874, p. 556.

it is clear that in these inscriptions the symbols for *e* and *i* are not sufficiently distinguished, since General Cunningham in each case reads *vandate* (which is neither Sanskrit nor Pāli) for *vandati*; and at page 113 he has *Vijayata* for *Vejayanta*, the well-known palace of the Buddhist archangel Sakka. He also reads *Kupiro* (*Kubiro*) for *Kubero*. I therefore feel little hesitation in amending *-pediko* to *-pidiko*. The missing *n* is easily restored when we observe how frequently, in the case of a conjunct consonant, one letter of the group is made to do duty for both—*e.g.*, *Kasapa* for *Kassapa*, *Vejayata* for *Vejayanta*, *Kakusadha* for *Kakusandha*. *Keta* is the correct Pāli form of the Sanskrit *kreta*, "purchaser." *Santhata* (*samstrita*) occurs pretty frequently in Pāli with the meaning "strewn", "spread," and there is no reason why the neuter should not be used as a synonym of *santhara* (*samstara*). The latter word is often used in the sense of "layer," "stratum" (see, for instance, "*Mahāvamsa*," p. 169, *phalikāsanthara*, "a layer of quartz stones"). *Kōtisanthatena keta* would then "mean purchaser for a layer of kotis," and this exactly tallies with the Buddhist narrative, which states that Anāthapindika spread the whole area of the garden with a layer of coins, amounting to 18 kotis, which he handed over to Jeta as the purchase-money (Spence Hardy's of "*Manual Buddhism*," p. 219). *Koti* in Pāli is sometimes used absolutely for a large sum of money (ten million *kāṣāṇas*).

It is impossible to read General Cunningham's most interesting account of these sculptures without a sigh of regret that they should be so far beyond the reach of our inspection. I hear of a proposal to remove them from Bharhut. The scheme carries with it a certain aroma of vandalism (fancy carting away Stonehenge!); but if it should be carried out, is it too much to hope that the sculptures may find their way to the India Office, instead of being consigned to the peaceful oblivion of an Indian museum?

R. C. CHILDERS.

THE BHARHUT SCULPTURES.*

38, Clanricarde Gardens, W., Dec. 1, 1874.

THROUGH the kindness of Dr. Max Müller, I have now seen a photograph of the Jétavana bas-relief, and a rubbing of the inscription. I admit at once that the emendation I proposed last week of *pi* for *pe* in the name Anāthapediko cannot be sustained. The letter is as clear as possible, and is *pe* and nothing else.† My other emendations, how-

* *Academy*, December 5, 1874, p. 612.

† I take this opportunity of correcting an inadvertence in my last letter: the form *vandate* is correct Sanskrit, though in Pāli we only have *vandati*. The dialect of these inscriptions is certainly not pure Pāli, though at first sight it appears to be so.

ever, are fully justified, the *d* of *-pediko* is, as it should be, the lingual *ḍ*, and the word read by General Cunningham *dati* is almost certainly *deti*. The letters are about an inch in height, and the inscription, which is wonderfully preserved, reads :—

“Jetavana Anādhapediko deti kōṣisanthatena ketā.”

There are no traces of an anusvāra at the end of *Jetavana*, but it has probably become effaced. I now pass to the bas-relief itself. My anticipation that the purchase of the garden and the gift of the monastery were both represented proves to be perfectly correct, the picture forming a medallion into which the two scenes are crowded (somewhat to the detriment of perspective) in a way not uncommon in Hindu art. On the right two men are literally paving the garden with little square blocks, up to the roots of the sandal trees, which Spence Hardy expressly states were left standing when the common trees had been cleared away (see “Manual of Buddhism,” p. 218). At the bottom of the picture is a bullock cart piled high with the same blocks, which a man is unloading, apparently tilting up the cart for the purpose. The two bullocks are unyoked, and are lying down by the side of the cart. On the left is the monastery, with a crowd of monks standing near it, while conspicuous in the centre of the medallion stands Anāthapindika, holding the water of donation (*dakkhinodaka*) in a vessel of the exact shape of the “cruche,” which all who have visited the south of France are familiar with. In front of him is a figure which I believe to be intended for Gautama Buddha, his right hand extended to receive the water of donation. Lastly, in the background, we have a representation of Buddha’s house at Jétavana, with its name *Gandhakuti*, “chamber of perfumes,” inscribed above it.

I had long been anxious to find the Pāli version of the story of Anāthapindika, in order to ascertain whether its language bears out that of the Bharhut inscription. It occurred to me this morning that the story might be found in Buddhaghosa’s Introduction (*Nidāna*) to the Buddhist Jātaka. I at once examined that work,* and found, to my great delight, not only the story of Anāthapindika, but the very expression “layer of kotis,” which is a crucial one in the inscription. The passage is as follows :—

“Tasmim samayé ANATHAPINDIKO gahapati...JETAVANAM KOṬṬISANTHARENA atthārasahiraññakotīhi KINITVA navakammam patthapesi. So majjhe Dasabalassa GANDHAKUTIM kāresi.”

Which means, “At that time the householder Anāthapindika, having purchased the garden of Jeta for a layer of kotis, for eighteen kotis of gold, began to build (*lit.* set on foot the new works). In the midst he built Buddha’s pavilion.” I have placed in capitals the words which this passage has in common with the inscription, and it will be seen

* Sent to me some time ago by Mr. Fausbøll.

that every word of the inscription is found in the passage except *deti*, which, however, occurs further on. The words *santhatena* and *santharena* are exact synonyms, and *kinitvá*, "having purchased," corresponds to *ketá*, "purchaser." The text distinctly states that Buddha's house was on the Jétavana grounds, and sure enough there it is in the bas-relief.

After a brief enumeration of the monastic buildings erected by Anáthapindika at Jétavana, the narrative proceeds to describe the triumphal progress of Gautama from Rájagaha to Sávatthi, and the pomp with which the wealthy *Seṭṭhi* went forth to meet him. Then we read :—

"Bhagavá imam npásakaparisam purato katvá mahábhikkhusangha-parivuto.....Jetavanaviháram pávisi. Atha nam Anáthapindikopucchi, katháham bhante imasmim viháre patipajjámiti? Tena hi gahapati imam viháram ágátánágatassa bhikkhusanghassa dehíti. Sádhu bhante ti mahásetthi suvannabhinkáram ádáyá Dasabalassa hatthe udakam pátetvá, imam Jetavanaviháram ágátánágatassa cátuddisssa, Buddhapamukhassa sanghassa dammíti adási."

"The Blessed One, preceded by this procession of devout laymen, and followed by a great company of monks, entered the monastery of Jétavana. Then Anáthapindika asked him, Lord, how am I to proceed in the matter of this monastery? Since you ask me, householder, bestow this monastery upon the Buddhist clergy, present and to come. And the great *seṭṭhi*, replying; It is well, lord, took a golden ewer, and pouring water upon the Buddha's hand, made the donation with these words, This monastery of Jétavana I give to the clergy present and to come, in all parts of the world, with the Buddha at their head."

Here we have the only remaining word unaccounted for in the inscription, for *adási* in the text answers to *deti*. And we have no difficulty in identifying the "golden ewer" with the vessel which Anáthapindika in the picture is holding in his hands.

I think I have now written enough to show not only that the element of uncertainty may be eliminated from this question, but that we owe to General Cunningham one of the most imposing archæological discoveries of the present century.

R. C. CHILDERS.

10, Princess Square, Plymouth, November 30, 1874.

THERE is one inscription on the Bharhut sculptures which has not been noticed either by Professor Max Müller or Professor Childers, which deserves attention.

I allude to one which I read on a photograph before me: "— Janaka Raja Sitalidevi." This inscription is placed over a curious group, which may be detected at once as the "Janaka Játaka." This Játaka

has been translated by Bigaudet from the Burmese. We have in the group : (1) Janaka, (2) Sitali (*Thivalee* in the Burmese), and (3) the arrow-maker. The scene agrees admirably with Bigaudet's account (p. 420, "Legend of the Burmese Buddha," 2nd ed.), and the singular gesture of Janaka as he holds up two fingers of one hand and one finger of the other, as though in doubt whether to leave his wife or retain her, is very interesting as showing the way in which these early sculptures were made to convey their meaning. The next group on the same frieze appears to be a continuation of the subject, but the inscription is unfortunately worn away. Above the group in which Anāthapindada is represented spreading his money on the site of the Jétavana, I read an inscription, "Chitiyá dasila." Whether this could be rendered "the gift of the site," Mr. Childers will be able to determine better than I can.

The group in which Elapatra Nága is worshipping Buddha, which is also before me, but without any inscription, agrees with the translation of this event which I have made from the Abhinishkramana Sūtra, and which will, I hope, shortly be published. I should not presume to question Mr. Childers' textual correction, but I hope he will pardon me for differing from him as to the worship which he supposes is being paid to the *Tree*. Not only does the narrative of this event distinctly refer the worship to Buddha (Bhagavat), but I think if he examines the Sānchi sculptures he will find that they include many instances of undoubted worship paid to Buddha while the worshippers are prostrate before the (so-called) altar and tree. I am sorry to differ from such an authority as Mr. Fergusson on this point, but the more I study these groups the more I am convinced that the altar, so called, represents the seat or throne (it is developed into a throne at Amravati) on which Buddha was seated under the Bó tree when he arrived at complete enlightenment, and that the people engaged in worship are in fact worshipping Buddha, although not represented by any figure ; for we know no figure was made of him for some centuries after the rise of his religion. This also bears out the theory of the antiquity of the Bharhut and Sānchi sculptures, compared with those at Amravati. It also proves (and this is much more valuable in my opinion) that the original worship of the Buddhists was a *spiritual* worship.

SAMUEL BEAL.

THE BHARHUT SCULPTURES.*

London, December 8, 1874.

I AM afraid the materials do not yet exist in this country for any

* *Academy*, December 12, 1874, pp. 637-8.

satisfactory discussion regarding General Cunningham's wonderful discoveries at Bharhut. We must wait for further details, but meanwhile it seems so important that erroneous impressions should not be allowed to pass unchallenged, that I hope I may be allowed to make a few remarks on Professor Childers' letters in your two last numbers, and Mr. Beal's in your last.

So much depends on the correctness of General Cunningham's readings, that I am delighted to find Mr. Childers is able to bear such distinct testimony to the accuracy of his interpretation of the legend attached to the bas-relief representing the acquisition of the Jétavana garden. This is an enormous gain to Buddhist literary history, but I wish he had taken the opportunity to revise or recall the emendation he made in your previous issue on the inscription which the General reads as "Erapátra the Nága Rája worships Buddha (Bhagavat)."

I feel convinced the Professor must be mistaken in his alteration; in the first place, because that part of the inscription which is visible in the photographs (one half is in shadow) is so clear and distinct—the letters so deeply and sharply cut, that it seems inconceivable that one so long familiar with this simplest of alphabets could have made such a mistake. A more important point, which anyone looking at the photographs can decide for himself, is that the tree which Erapátra is worshipping is not the Bodhi tree of the last Buddha at all, but one of a totally different species. Fortunately, in the same photograph, there is another bas-relief from another pillar, representing a tree which two men are worshipping—in a rather eccentric manner, it must be confessed, by holding their tongues between their fingers and thumbs. Above, flying figures—Gandharvas—are bringing wreaths as offerings; and below is a perfectly distinct inscription, which General Cunningham reads: "Bhagavato Saka munino Bodhi" ("The Bó tree of Sákya Muni.") Now it requires only a very slight knowledge of botany, and still slighter familiarity with the sculptures at Sánchi, to see at once, even without the inscription, that this sculpture is intended to represent the Pipul tree (*Ficus religiosa*), which is, and always was, the Bó tree of the last Buddha, and which, or whose lineal descendants, still grows at Buddha Gaya and Anurádhapura. On the other hand, the tree which Erapátra is worshipping, is a flowering tree of a totally distinct species, but for the identification of which the photograph is not sufficiently clear. Although, therefore, the Professor's emendation may make the inscription more grammatical,—on this I am not competent to express an opinion,—it appears to me to have the insuperable defect that it contradicts the facts represented in the bas-relief to which it is attached. The General's interpretation, on the contrary, perfectly accords with them.

The same facts, if I mistake not, equally dispose of Mr. Beal's theory that the altar in front of these trees represents "the seat or

throne on which Buddha was seated under the Bó tree when he arrived at complete enlightenment."

If Mr. Beal were as familiar with the botany of the Sánchi sculptures as I unfortunately have been forced to become, he would have seen that this altar or throne exists not only in front of the Bó tree properly so called, but of four or five other trees of totally distinct species. Not to multiply instances unnecessarily, I would refer him to the three figures of plate xxv. of "Tree and Serpent Worship," or to the woodcut on the following page (130) from the contemporary rail at Buddha Gaya, all of which are as different as can be, and not accidentally so, for they are easily recognisable, *inter se*, when repeated, though their botanical names have not yet in all instances been determined. Unless, therefore, Sákya Muni sat—miraculously—under five or six different trees of different species at the moment of enlightenment, these can hardly represent seats, but must be altars, which from their form and position they seem undoubtedly to be.* The probability seems to be, that these trees may be the Bó trees of preceding Buddhas, but this we shall not know for certain until we get home a complete set of the Bharhut sculptures. In the meanwhile, I would like to suggest that the term *Bhagavat* in this inscription does not mean "Buddha." That epithet was applied to him only after the Christian era, when he became personally worshipped. As General Cunningham says of the Bharhut sculptures, in a private letter to me, echoing the words I had used regarding those of Sánchi, "it is Buddhism without Buddha: no representation of him as Buddha appearing anywhere." The word as here used seems to mean only the holy or sacred thing or person—a deity or numen.

As I am writing, perhaps I may be allowed to point out an interesting feature in the Erapatra bas-relief which has not yet been mentioned by anyone, in print at least. At some distance behind Erapatra is a second Nága Rája, similarly distinguished by having a five-headed snake on the back of his head, and behind him again their two wives, each, as usual with Nága women, having only one-headed snakes behind them. Between the two Rájas, and occupying the central position in the bas-relief, appears the great five-headed Nága himself. It is not clear what the second Rája and the women are worshipping. They are looking to the front, though their hands are joined in the attitude of prayer, and their adoration may be addressed

* When Mr. Beal reads Mr. Childers' letter in your last issue, he will be aware that he has mistaken a bas-relief representing four men playing at draughts, or Puchísí, for that representing the purchase of the Jétavana Monastery. His transliteration of the inscription is, however, correct; it is consequently not to be wondered at that he was puzzled with its application.

to either the tree or the serpent. Be this as it may, no one can, I think, look at this bas-relief without perceiving that the tree and the serpent are coequal, and that they are being worshipped by a people distinguished by the Nāga badge.

Whenever the details of the Bharhut sculptures are given to the public, every one will, I believe, admit that they form the most important contribution for the illustration of early Buddhist history and art that has been made since James Prinsep, some forty years ago, deciphered the Lāt alphabet. In the particular department which I took up some time ago, nothing could be more gratifying to me than the discovery of this Erapatra bas-relief. It forms so complete an epitome of all I wrote in my "Tree and Serpent Worship," and with the other sculptures so completely confirms all I there said, that so soon as I can get a sufficiently good photograph of it, I will have it engraved on a second frontispiece for my work, and so take leave of the subject. The task of carrying the history two centuries further back than my materials allowed me to do, and of completing the pictorial illustrations of the subject, belongs to the fortunate discoverer of Bharhut. In resigning the task to him it is pleasant to think that, though adding so much to our previous stores, the Bharhut sculptures upset nothing that was before advanced. Only what were necessarily theories when I wrote have now become facts, but without invalidating any of the conclusions previously arrived at, or requiring me to retract anything I then advanced.

JAS. FERGUSSON.

38, Clanricardo Gardens, W., December 8, 1874.

THE significance of General Cunningham's discovery is not limited by its archaeological results. On the contrary, it will be the opinion of many that its archaeological importance is quite eclipsed by its bearing upon the antiquity of the Buddhist records. At a time when scepticism has been carried to the utmost extreme to which it could be pushed without becoming positively ludicrous, up rises this second and better Moabite Stone from the earth, to place the South Buddhist records on a firmer basis than they ever yet occupied.

The Jātaka Nidāna, from which I quoted last week, is a summary of the Legend of Buddha, written by Buddhaghosha in the fifth century A.D., and forming his preface to the 550 Jātaka stories. It is compiled from older records (Tripitaka and others) which he frequently mentions by name, referring the reader to them for details of some event of which he merely gives a brief abstract. In the first passage quoted by me last week it will be seen that, in his version of the story of Anāthapindika, he has but briefly mentioned the purchase of the Jētavana garden, while he has given details of the building and donation of the monastery. It would be interesting to meet with the original

and detailed account of the purchase, but at present I confess I do not know where to look for it. It is, however, probably in one of the early books of the Tripiṭaka, and, if so, we shall meet with it sooner or later. In the meantime the friends of Buddhism may well rest satisfied with having found graven on the rock, 200 years before Christ, the very words of those South Buddhist records which a certain set of critics are for ever proclaiming to be devoid of antiquity and authenticity.

R. C. CHILDERS.

D.

My dear Mr. Childers,

Colombo, February 9, 1875.

I THANK you for kindly sending me the copies of the *Academy* which contain your remarks on the Bharahut inscriptions and sculptures. I was greatly interested in reading them.

In the *Academy* of November 28 last, No. 134, with reference to the legend *Erapato Nāga Rājā Bhagavato vandate* which General Cunningham translates, "Erapatra the Nāga Rāja worships Buddha,"—and I think correctly—you say this rendering is quite inadmissible, first because *Bhagavato* is a genitive, while *vandate* governs an accusative, and secondly because the Bū tree which the Nāga king is worshipping can by no possibility be called *Bhagavat*, and you propose to read *Erapato Nāga Rājā Bhagavato bodhim vandate*. I am sorry I cannot agree with you in this opinion. I think that in this legend, as well as in the one *Ajātasata Bhagavato vandate* (Proceedings Bengal A. S., May, 1874, p. 112), *Bhagavato* is the in dative case, and though *vandate* according to strict grammar governs the accusative, I think in irregular Pāli it sometimes governs the dative. At least it is so in Sighalese, which you so recently and so ably found to be an Aryan dialect. In Sighalese we say either බුදුන් වහන්සේ, *Budun vañḍinavā*, or බුදුන් වහන්සේ, *Budunṭa vañḍinavā*. There is a rule somewhat similar to this in Kachchayana, *Namo yogādvapica* (Senart's "Kaccayana," vol. I., p. 340).

I have found the legend of Erapatta Nāga Rājā in the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* (Fausböll). Mr. Fergusson's opinion that the tree which Erapatra is worshipping is not the Bodhi tree of the last Buddha at all, but one of a totally different species, will turn out to be perfectly correct. I may be permitted to add that Erapatta is not worshipping a tree at all, but *Buddha*, as General Cunningham in my humble opinion has rightly translated it. The legend as given in this *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* clearly explains this. Fausböll does not give the legend, although he gives some extracts from it (*vide* Fausböll "Dhammapada," p. 344, v. 182).

In the legend it is stated that Erapatta Nāga Rājā met Buddha near

"the seven Śirisa trees" (*satta sirisa rukkhā*) as he (Buddha) took his seat at the foot of one of them. So the tree in the photograph must be a "Śirisa" (Śirisha) tree (*Mimosa Sirisa*) (see Colebrooke's "Amara-kosha," second edition, p. 100). This tree is called in Sinhalese මොර, *mahari*, or මරු, *māru*.

I am happy to say I am able to throw some light on the *Jétavana* legend too. On the receipt of the numbers of the *Academy* you sent me I requested Sumaggala, the learned High Priest of Adam's Peak, to find out for me the account of the building of the *Jétavana* Monastery. He at once referred me to *Chūla Vagga*, and I found a very full and interesting account of the transaction. It is substantially the same as given by Spence Hardy, but more rational, and of course more authentic than the Sinhalese version which Spence Hardy has extracted.

L. DE ZOYSA.

E.

THE BHARHUT SCULPTURES.*

38, Clanricarde Gardens, W., March 25, 1875.

THE principal interpreter to the Ceylon Government, Louis de Zoysa Mudaliyar, writes me word that he has found the Pāli version of the story of the Nāga-king Erapātra in the commentary on v. 182 of the *Dhammapada*. The beginning and end of the comment is given at page 344 of Fausbøll's "*Dhammapada*," but the story itself is unfortunately omitted. The Mudaliyār writes:—

"The legend as given in the commentary clearly explains the sculpture. Mr. Fergusson's opinion that the tree which Erapātra is worshipping is not the Bó tree of the last Buddha, but one of a totally different species, turns out to be perfectly correct. I may be permitted to add that the Nāga king is not worshipping a tree, but Buddha—the Bhagavat. It is stated in the legend that Buddha went to a place called the Seven Sirisa trees (*satta sirisa rukkhā*), and received the salutation of the Nāga king seated at the foot of one of these trees. So that the tree which Erapātra is apparently (though not really) worshipping must be a Sirisa tree (*Acacia Sirisa*)."

We have here a striking confirmation of Mr. Beal's theory that the Nāga king is worshipping an *invisible* Buddha seated beneath the tree. I cannot forbear quoting the words of his letter in the *Academy* of December 5, 1874, (p. 612):—

"..... The more I study these groups, the more I am convinced that the altar, so called, represents the seat or throne on which Buddha was seated under the Bó tree when he arrived at complete enlightenment, and that the people engaged in worship are in fact worshipping

* *Academy*, April 3, 1875, p. 351.

Buddha, although not represented by any figure; for we know no figure was made of him for some centuries after the rise of his religion."

As regards the inscription which accompanies the bas-relief, I must of course abandon the emendation by which I proposed to insert *Bodhim* after *Bhagavato*. There then remain two alternatives: either there is a grammatical error in the inscription, or the word read *Bhagavato* should be *Bhagava(n)tam*. A rubbing of the inscription is a great desideratum.

R. C. CHILDERS.

F.

THE BHARNUT SCULPTURES.*

38, Clanricarde Gardens, April 27, 1875.

Louis de Zoysa Mandalay has supplied me with two additional corrections, one of some importance, the other involving an interesting point of exegesis. First, the inscription read by General Cunningham as *Sudhamma Reva Sabha* should be read *Sudhammā devasabha*. The emendation admits of no dispute, because, according to the Buddhist texts, the *devasabha*, or council hall of the Trayastrinsa angels, is named *Sudhammā*. Thus vanishes the theory of the inscription containing the name of the patriarch Revata, who presided over the second General Council of Buddhism. Secondly, the curious expression *koṭisanthārena* does not mean "for a layer of ten millions," but "by laying edge to edge." It is well known to Sanskrit scholars that *koṭi* has the two very different meanings of "edge" and "ten millions," and it is in the former sense that the word is here used. The original and oldest extant version of the story of Jetavana is to be found in the *Chūla Vagga* of the *Vinaya*, a portion of the Buddhist canon; and in his great commentary on the *Vinaya*, Buddhaghosa explains *koṭisanthārena* by *koṭim koṭim paṣipādetvā*, "putting edge to edge," by which is meant that the coins were so close together that their edges touched. Of course this correction does not in the slightest degree impair the value of the discovery. It is interesting as removing a certain tautology from the passage as I at first translated it, and adding a new force to the expression, and also as illustrating the extreme importance of Buddhaghosa's commentaries, without which we should too often be driven into hopeless conjecture in dealing with the oldest Buddhist texts.

R. C. CHILDERS.

* *Academy*, May 1, 1875, pp. 454-5.

G.

My dear Mr. Childers,

Colombo, May 11, 1875.

I have duly received your letter of March 23 last.

I am sorry to find you have misapprehended the drift of my remark as to the Sighalese verb වදනා governing a dative case. I did not mean to say that because the verb governs a dative in Sighalese, that therefore it should govern the same case in Sanskrit or Pāli. If my words led you to infer so, it must be only to the imperfect way in which I expressed myself in English, and not to any Asiatic peculiarity in my mind. I simply wished to call to your remembrance the fact, as the Sighalese is supposed to be an Aryan dialect immediately derived from the Pāli.

I had, or rather I thought I had, other grounds (whether they be satisfactory or not) to induce me to think that it was possible that in old Pāli the verb *vanda* optionally governed the dative, although the usage may have afterwards become obsolete. You will recollect that it is not only in the Erapātra inscription that the word *Bhagavato* is found after *vandate*, but in another inscription at Bharhut, *Ajātasta Bhagavato vandatte*.

It also appeared to me that if we regarded *Bhagavato* as the dative, we might account for it by the rule in Kachchāyana, which says the verb *sitaghāti* (to praise) governs the dative case—*Buddhassa sitaghāsi* (Senart's "Kacchāyana," p. 327, rule 7).

The verb වදන is defined in the "Dhatu Pātha," වදන අභිවදනනපි තිසු : *vanda* "signifies *abhivadhana*, 'respectful salutation,' and *thuti* 'praise.'"

Might we not take *vanda* in the inscription to mean *thuti*, and if so, render the inscription into English, "Erapātra praises (glorifies) Buddha"?

I fear I am running the risk of being again charged with Asiatic peculiarity. I have ventured to offer these remarks simply for your consideration. I am too well sensible of my own deficiency, both as an English and Pāli scholar, to advance these remarks in a spirit of dogmatism.

How will you account for the context of the following sentence in the "Sutta Nipāta": බ්‍රාහ්මණෝ වදනතායනෙ, *Brāhmaṇo vanda Tathāgate* (vide conclusion of *Amagandha Suttan* in the "Sutta Nipāta")?

To my mind it seems that තායනෙ *Tathāgate* might be regarded as the dative case and governed by වදන *vanda*. I must, however, be candid and say that I referred to the *Aṭṭhakathā*.

The Commentator explains it thus : තායනෙ පාදෙ පඤ්චපට්ඨිති කතා වනදි, making තායනෙ the genitive, although I must confess this explanation appears to my mind rather forced and unnatural.

L. DE ZOYSA.

H.

LIST OF THE "PANSIYAPANAS JĀTAKA," THE 550 BIRTH STORIES
OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.*

ජනක කාව.			Jātaka.
1	අපනනක	...	Apannaka
2	වනනුපථ	...	Vannupatha
3	සෙරිවානිජ	...	Sériwāpija
4	චුල්ලසෙති	...	Chullasetthi
5	තණ්ඩුලකාලි	...	Tanḍulanāli
6	දෙවධම්ම	...	Déwadhmma
7	කඨහාරි	...	Kaṭṭhahāri
8	ගාමනි	...	Gāmaṇi
9	මකාදෙව	...	Makhādéwa
10	සුඛවිහාරි	...	Sukhawihāri
අපනනකවග්ගොපධම්මො— <i>Apannakavaggō paṭhamō.</i>			
11	ලක්ඛණ	...	Lakkhaṇa
12	නිග්ගොධම්ම	...	Nigródhamiga
13	කන්ධිත	...	Khaṇḍita
14	වාතමිග	...	Vātamiga
15	කරුණ	...	Kharuṇi
16	තිපල්ලත්ථමිග	...	Tipallatthamiga
17	මාළුත	...	Māḷuta
18	මතකභත්ත	...	Matakabhatta
19	අභිචිතභත්ත	...	A'yāchitabhatta
20	නල්පාන	...	Nalapāna
සිල්ලවග්ගොදුතියො— <i>Sīlavaraggō dutiyō.</i>			
21	කුරුඳුගමිග	...	Kuruṅgamiga
22	කුකුරු	...	Kukkura
23	භොජ්ජානි	...	Bhōjjānīya
24	අජ්ඣන්ද	...	A'jñāṇā
25	තිත්ථ	...	Tittṭha

* This valuable list has been compiled by N. Don M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe, Assistant Librarian of the Colombo Museum, with the assistance of Veliwiṭṭiye Dhammaratana Unnānsē, of the Vidyodaya College. In order to make the list complete it was found necessary to consult many ola MSS. (both in Singhalese and Burmese characters) belonging to Temple libraries in several parts of the Island. Where the same names recur in the list it should be noted that each represents a different Jātaka story.—B., Hon. Sec.

ජාතක නාම.			Jātaka.
26	මහිලාමුඛ	...	Mahilāmukha
27	අභිභිත	...	Abhiṇṇa
28	නන්දිවිසාල	...	Nandiwiśāla
29	කණ්ණ	...	Kaṇṇa
30	මුනික	...	Munika
කුරුඛතවග්ගො නතිශො— <i>Kuruṅgamaggō tatiyō.</i>			
31	කුලාවක	...	Kulāwaka
32	නච්ච	...	Nachcha
33	සමමොදමාන	...	Sammōdamāna
34	මච්ඡ	...	Machchha
35	වට්ටක	...	Vaṭṭaka
36	සකුණ	...	Sakuṇa
37	තිත්තිර	...	Tittira
38	බක	...	Baka
39	නන්ද	...	Nanda
40	කදිරාගාර	...	Khadiraṅgāra
කුලාවකවග්ගො චතුත්ථො— <i>Kulāvakamaggō chatutthō.</i>			
41	ලොසක	...	Lōsaka
42	කපොත	...	Kapōta
43	වේලක	...	Vēluka
44	මකස	...	Makasa
45	රොහිණි	...	Rōhiṇī
46	ආරාමදුසක	...	A'rāmadūsaka
47	වාරුණි	...	Vāruṇī
48	වේදබ්බ	...	Vēdabbha
49	නක්කත්ත	...	Nakkhatta
50	දුම්මෙධ	...	Dummēdha
අත්තකාමවග්ගො පඤ්චමො— <i>Atthakāmaṅṇaggō pañchamō.</i>			
පඨමො පණ්ණාසකො— <i>Paṭhamō paṇṇāsakō.</i>			
51	මහාසිලව	...	Mahāsīlawa
52	චූලජනක	...	Chūlajanaka
53	පුණ්ණපාති	...	Puṇṇapāti
54	ඵල	...	Phala
55	පඤ්චායුධ	...	Pañchāyudha
56	කඤ්චනකකු	...	Kaṇṇhanakkhaṇḍa
57	වානරිඤ්ඤ	...	Vānarinda
58	තයොධම්ම	...	Tayōdhamma
59	භේරිවාද	...	Bhériwāda
60	සංඝාදමන	...	Saṅghadamana
ආසිංසවග්ගො ඡට්ඨො— <i>A'sinsamaggō cchattthō.</i>			
61	අසාතමයන	...	Asātamanṭa
62	අභ්‍යුත්ත	...	Andhabhūta
63	තක්ක	...	Takka
64	දුරාජාන	...	Durājāna
65	අනභිරතී	...	Anabhiratī
66	මුදුලකභ්‍යා	...	Mudulakkhaṇa

ජාතක නාම.			Jātaka.
67	උච්ඡඩා	...	Uchchhāṅga
68	සාකේත	...	Sākēta
69	විසවණ්ණ	...	Visavaṇṇa
70	කුද්දල	...	Kuddāla
ඉත්තිවග්ගො සත්තමො— <i>Itthinaggō sattamō.</i>			
71	වරණ	...	Varaṇa
72	සිලවනාය	...	Sīlavanāga
73	සචංකිර	...	Sachchāṅkira
74	රුක්ඛධම්ම	...	Rukkhadhamma
75	මච්ඡ	...	Machchha
76	අසංකිය	...	A'saṅkiya
77	මහාසුපින	...	Mahāsūpina
78	ඉලිස	...	Illisa
79	කරසාර	...	Kharassara
80	භිමසෙන	...	Bhīmasēna
වරණවග්ගො අතිමො— <i>Varaṇavaggō attimō.</i>			
81	සුරාපාන	...	Surāpāna
82	මිත්තවිඤ්ඤ	...	Mittawinda
83	කාලකාන්ති	...	Kālakānni
84	අසන්තවාර	...	Asantadvāra
85	කිප්පකඛ	...	Kippakkha
86	සිලවිමංස	...	Sīlavīmaṇsa
87	මාභ්ගල	...	Maṅgala
88	සාරම්භ	...	Sārambha
89	කුහක	...	Kuhaka
90	අකතාභිඤ්ඤ	...	Akātābhīṇa
අපායිමහවග්ගො නවමො— <i>Apāyīmhaṇvaggō navamō.</i>			
91	ලිත්ත	...	Litta
92	මහාසාර	...	Mahāsāra
93	විසාසභ්භෝජන	...	Vissāsabhōjana
94	ලොමහංස	...	Lōmahansa
95	මහාසුදස්සන	...	Mahāsudassana
96	තෙලපත්ත	...	Telapatta
97	නාමසිද්ධික	...	Nāmasiddhika
98	කුටවාණිජ	...	Kūṭavāṇija
99	පරොසහස්ස	...	Parósaḥassa
100	අසාතරූප	...	Asātarūpa
අලිත්තවග්ගො දසමො— <i>Alittavaggō dasamō.</i>			
මරසීමධරණසකො තිසිතො— <i>Majjhimaṇṇāsakō tittitō.</i>			
101	පරොසත	...	Parósata
102	පාප්පික	...	Pāppika
103	වේරි	...	Véri
104	මිත්තවිඤ්ඤ	...	Mittawinda
105	දුබ්බලකුඨ	...	Dubbhalakūṭha
106	උදාඤ්ඤා	...	Udañchani
107	සාලික	...	Sālika

ජතකකාව. Jātaka.		
108	බාහිය	Bāhiya
109	කුණ්ඩපු	Kuṇḍapūwa
110	සබ්බසංඝාර	Sabbasamphāra
පරෙසනවග්ගො ඵ්ඤාදසමො— <i>Parosatanavaggō ēkādasaṃbō.</i>		
111	ගද්‍රභපාෆිහ	Gadrabhapañha
112	අමරදේවපඤ්ඤා	Amarādēwipañña
113	සිගාල	Sigāla
114	මිතචින්ති	Mitachinti
115	සකුණ	Sakuṇa
116	අනුසාසික	Anusāsika
117	දුබ්බච	Dubbacha
118	තිත්තිර	Tittira
119	වත්තක	Vatṭaka
120	අකාලරාජි	Akālarāwi
121	බන්ධනමොක්ඛ	Bandhanamokkha
හංසවග්ගො වාදසමො— <i>Haṇṣavaggō dvādasambō.</i>		
122	කුසනාලි	Kusanāli
123	දුම්මෙධ	Dummédha
124	නාඟලීස	Naṅgalīsa
125	අම්බ	Amba
126	කපාතක	Kaṭāhaka
127	අසිලකබ්ණ	Asilakkhaṇa
128	කලණ්ඩුක	Kalaṇḍuka
129	බිලාර	Bilāra
130	අග්ගික	Aggika
131	කොසිය	Kōsiya
කුසනාලිවග්ගො තෙරසමො— <i>Kusanālivaggō térasamo.</i>		
132	අසම්පදාන	Asampadāna
133	පඤ්චගරුක	Pañchagaruka
134	ඝතාසන	Ghatāsana
135	ඤානසොධන	Jhānasódhana
136	චන්ද්‍රාභ	Chandrábha
137	සුවණ්ණහංස	Suwaṇṇahaṇsa
138	බබ්බුක	Babbuka
139	ගොධ	Góḍha
140	උභතොග්ග	Ubhatóghaṭṭha
141	කාක	Kāka
අසම්පදානවග්ගො චුද්දසමො— <i>Asampadānavaggō chuddasambō.</i>		
142	ගොධ	Góḍha
143	සිගාල	Sigāla
144	විරොචන	Viróchana
145	නාඟුත්ථ	Naṅguṭṭha
146	රාථ	Rāṭha
147	කාක	Kāka
148	පුප්ඵරත්ත	Puppharatta
149	සිගාල	Sigāla

	ජතක නාම.	Jātaka.
150	එකපණ්ණ	E'kaṇṇa
151	සඤ්චිව	Sañjīwa
	කකණ්ටකවග්ගො පණ්ණාරසමො— <i>Kakaṇṭakavaggo paṇṇārasamō.</i>	

එකනිපාතං නිජිතං—*E'kanipātaṇ nitthitaṇ.*

152	රුජව්වාද	Rūjōvāda
153	සිගාල	Sigāla
154	සුකර	Sūkara
155	උරග	Uruga
156	ගගග	Gagga
157	අලින විහග	Alivachitta
158	ගුණ	Guna
159	සුගනු	Suhanu
160	මොර	Mōra
161	විනිලක	Vinīlaka

දළහවග්ගො පඨමො—*Dalhanaggo paṭhamō.*

162	ඉන්දසමානගොත්තව	Indasamānagottawa
163	සන්ථව	Santhawa
164	සුසිම	Susīma
165	ගිජ්ඣ	Gijjha
166	නකුල	Nakula
167	උපසාලහක	Upasāḷhaka
168	සමිඞ්ඞි	Samiddhi
169	සකුණ්භි	Sakuṇagghi
170	අරක	Araka
171	කකණ්ටක	Kakaṇṭaka

සන්තව්වග්ගො දුතියො—*Santanavaggo dutiyō.*

172	කලාණ්ඩමම	Kalyāṇadhamma
173	දද්දර	Daddara
174	මකකව	Makkaṭa
175	දුතියමකකව	Dutiyamakkaṭa
176	ආදිච්චුපඨාන	A'dichchupattāna
177	කලායමුඡ්ඞි	Kalāyamuḍḍhi
178	තිදුක	Tinduka
179	කච්ඡප	Kachchhapa
180	සත්ථමම	Satadhamma
181	දුද්ද	Duddada

කලාණ්ඩමමවග්ගො තතියො—*Kalyāṇadhammavaggo tatiyō.*

182	අසදිස	Asadisa
183	සංගාමාවචර	Saṅgāmāwachara
184	වාලොදක	Vāḷōdaka
185	ගිරිදත්ත	Giridatta
186	අනභිරති	Anabbhirati
187	දඩ්ඩාගන	Dadhiwāhana
188	චතුමට්ට	Chatumattā
189	සිහකොහථක	Sīhakanthaka

ජනක නාම.			Jātaka.
190	සිහවමම	...	Sihachamma
191	සිලානිසංස	...	Sīlanisappa
අසද්ධිසවගෙහා වතුගො— <i>Asadisaṃvaggō chatutthō.</i>			
192	රුහක	...	Ruhaka
193	සිරිකාලකනි	...	Sirikālakanni
194	චුලපදුම	...	Chullapaduma
195	මණිවොර	...	Maṇichōra
196	පබ්බතුපත්තර	...	Pabbatupattbara
197	වළාගසා	...	Vaḷāhassa
198	මිත්තමිත්ත	...	Mittāmitta
199	රාධ	...	Rādha
200	ගහපති	...	Gahapati
201	සාධුසිල	...	Sādhusīla
රුහකවගෙහා පඤ්චමො— <i>Ruhakavaggō pañcamō.</i>			
202	බන්ධනාගාර	...	Bandhanāgāra
203	කෙලිසිල	...	Kēlisīla
204	ඛන්ධාවන්තක	...	Khandhawantaka
205	විරක	...	Vīraka
206	ගංගෙය්‍ය	...	Gaṅgeyya
207	කුරුඤ්ඣමිග	...	Kuruṅgamiga
208	අසක	...	Assaka
209	සුංසුමාර	...	Suṃsumāra
210	කකකාර	...	Kakkāra
211	කන්දගලක	...	Kandagalaka
නතංදලාවගෙහා ජමො— <i>Natandhalavaggō chhatthō.</i>			
212	සොමදත්ත	...	Sōmadatta
213	උච්චිඨභහ්‍ත	...	Ucchittabhahatta
214	භරු	...	Bharu
215	පුණ්ණනදි	...	Puṇṇanadi
216	කච්ඡප	...	Kacchhapa
217	මච්ඡ	...	Machchha
218	සෙගු	...	Seggu
219	කුට්ඨානිජ	...	Kūṭṭhāṇija
220	ගරහිත	...	Garahita
221	ධම්මාද්ධක	...	Dhammaddhaja
බීරණ්ණමිත්තකවගෙහා සත්තමො— <i>Bīraṇṇatthamhakaravaggō sattamō.</i>			
222	කාසාව	...	Kāsāva
223	චුලනන්දි	...	Chūlanandi
224	පුට්භහ්‍ත	...	Putabhahatta
225	කුම්භිල	...	Kumbhila
226	ඛන්තිවාහ්‍නන	...	Khantiwāṇṇana
227	කොසිය	...	Kōsiya
228	ගුත්තපාන	...	Gūthapāna
229	කාමනික	...	Kāmanīka
230	පලාසි	...	Palāsi

ජතක නාම.		Jātaka.
231 දුතියපල්ලාසි ...	...	Dutiyapalāsi
කාසාවච්ඡෙය්‍යා අභිමෝ— <i>Kāsāvanaggō atthamō.</i>		
232 උපාහණ ...	...	Upāhāṇa
233 විණුල්ලිණ ...	...	Vīṇūḷḷiṇa
234 විකණ්ණක ...	...	Vikaṇṇaka
235 *අසිතාභු ...	...	Asitābhu
236 කොසිය ...	...	Kósiya
237 වච්ඡනක ...	...	Vachchhanakha
238 බක ...	...	Baka
239 සාකෙත ...	...	Sákéta
240 එකපාද ...	...	E'kapāda
241 හරිතමාතු ...	...	Haritamātu
242 මහාච්ඡිකුල ...	...	Mahāpīṭṭhala
උපාහණවච්ඡෙය්‍යා නවමෝ— <i>Upāhāṇanaggō navamō.</i>		
243 සබ්බද්ධ ...	...	Sabbadāṭṭha
244 සුනක ...	...	Sunakha
245 ගුත්තිල ...	...	Guttila
246 විතීච්ඡ ...	...	Vītichchha
247 මුලපරිසාය ...	...	Mūlapariyāya
248 තෙලොවාද ...	...	Télowāda
249 පාදසාද්ධි ...	...	Pādasāḍḍhi
250 කිංසුකොපම ...	...	Kiṇṣukópama
251 සාල ...	...	Sāla
252 කපි ...	...	Kapi
සිගාලවච්ඡෙය්‍යා දසමෝ— <i>Sigālanaggō dasamō.</i>		
දුකනිපාතො— <i>Dukanipātano.</i>		
253 සංකප්ප ...	...	Saṅkappa
254 තිලමුඪි ...	...	Tilamuṭṭhi
255 මණිකණ්ණ ...	...	Maṇikaṇṭha
256 කුණ්ඩකකුච්ඡිසිංහ ...	...	Kuṇḍakakuchchhisindhawa
257 සුක ...	...	Suka
258 ච්ඡාරුදපාන ...	...	Chharudapāna
259 ගාමණිච්ඡාණ්ඩ ...	...	Gāmaṇichhaṇḍa
260 මන්ධාතු ...	...	Mandhātu
261 †තිරිථවච්ච ...	...	Tirīṭṭavachchha
262 දුරා ...	...	Dūra
සංකප්පවච්ඡෙය්‍යා පඨමෝ— <i>Saṅkappanaggō paṭhamō.</i>		
263 පදුම ...	...	Paduma
264 මුදුපාණි ...	...	Mudupaṇi
265 චුල්ලපල්ලොහන ...	...	Chullapallobhana
266 මහාපණ්ණාද ...	...	Mahāpaṇṇāda
267 කුරුඳු ...	...	Kuruṅga
268 වාග්ගසිංහ ...	...	Vāggasindhawa

° අභිතාභු ...

Ahinābhu.

† කිරිථවච්ච ...

Kirīṭavachchha.

	ජතක නාම.		Jātaka.
269	කකකටක		Kakkatāka
270	ආරාමදුසක		A'rāmadūsaka
271	සුජත		Sujāta
272	උලුක		Ulūka
කෝසියවග්ගො දුතියො— <i>Kōsiyanaggō dutiyō.</i>			
273	උදපානදුසක		Udapānadūsaka
274	ව්‍යග්ග		Vyaggha
275	කච්ඡප		Kachchhapa
276	ලොල		Lōla
277	රුචිර		Ruchira
278	කුරුධම්ම		Kurudhamma
279	රෝමක		Rōmaka
280	මහිස		Mahisa
281	සතපත		Satapatta
282	කුටසාක*		Kūṭasāka
අරාණ්ණවග්ගො තතියො— <i>Arañṇamaggō tatiyō.</i>			
283	අභ්‍යන්තර		Abbhantara
284	සෙය්‍යාස		Seyyassa
285	වඩ්ඪකිසුකර		Vaddhakīśūkara
286	සිරි		Siri
287	මණිසුකර		Maṇisūkara
288	සාලුක		Sāluka
289	ලාභගරුක		Lābhagaruka
290	මච්ඡදදන		Machchuddāna
291	නානච්ඡඤ්ඤා		Nānāchchhanda
292	සිලවිමංස		Sīlavīmaṇsa
අභ්‍යන්තරවග්ගො චතුත්ථො— <i>Abbhantaraggō chatutthō.</i>			
293	භද්‍රඝට		Bhadraghāṭa
294	සුපත		Supatta
295	කායවිච්ඡන්ද		Kāyavichchhanda
296	ජම්බුකාදක		Jambukhādaka
297	අන්ත		Anta
298	සමුද්ද		Samudda
299	කාමවිලාප		Kāmawilāpa
300	උදුම්බර		Udumbara
301	කෝමාරපුත්ත		Kōmāraputta
302	බක		Baka
කුම්භවග්ගො පඤ්චමො— <i>Kumbhamaggō pañcamō.</i>			
තිකතිපාතො— <i>Tikanipātaṇ.</i>			
303	චුලකාලිංග		Chullakālīṅga
304	මහාසාර්ථක		Mahāsāṭṭhaka
305	එකරජ		E'karāja
306	දද්දර		Daddara
307	සිලවිමංසන		Sīlavīmaṇsana

* පුටදුසක Puṭadūsaka.

ජතක නාම.			Jātaka.
305	සුජත	...	Sujāta
309	පලාස	...	Palāsa
310	ජවසකුණ	...	Jawasakuna
311	ජවක	...	Chhawaka
312	සයා	...	Sayha
විවරවග්ගො පඨමො— <i>Vivaraṇṇaggō paṭhamō.</i>			
313	පුච්චිඤ්ඤ	...	Puchhimanda
314	කසපමන්දිය	...	Kassapamandiya
315	ඛන්තිවාදී	...	Khantiwādī
316	ලොභකුම්භි	...	Lōbhakumbhi
317	මංස	...	Maṇsa
318	සස	...	Sasa
319	එකරජ	...	E'karāja
320	දද්දර	...	Daddara
321	මතරොදන	...	Matarōdana
322	කණවෙර	...	Kaṇawēra
323	තිත්තිර	...	Tittira
324	සුච්චජ	...	Suchchaja
පුච්චිඤ්ඤවග්ගො දුතියො— <i>Puchhimandawaggō dutiyō.</i>			
325	කුටිදුසක	...	Kuṭidūsaka
326	දද්දභ	...	Daddabha
327	බ්‍රහ්මදත්ත	...	Brahmadatta
328	චම්මසාවක	...	Chammasāṭaka
329	ගොධ	...	Gōdha
330	කකකාරු	...	Kakkāru
331	කාකානි	...	Kākāni
332	අනනුසොචිය	...	Ananu-ōchiya
333	කාලබාහු	...	Kālabāhu
334	සීලවිමංසන	...	Sīlawiṇṇasana
කුටිදුසකවග්ගො තතියො— <i>Kuṭidūsakawaggō tatiyō.</i>			
335	කොකිල	...	Kōkila
336	රථලකී	...	Rathalaṭṭhi
337	ගොධ	...	Gōdha
338	රාජරොද	...	Rājorōda
339	ජම්බුක	...	Jambuka
340	බ්‍රහ්මචර	...	Brahmachatta
341	පිඨ	...	Piṭha
342	ඵස	...	Thusa
343	බාවෙරු	...	Bāwēru
344	විසයා	...	Visayha
කොකිලවග්ගො චතුත්ථො— <i>Kokilaraggō chatutthō.</i>			
345	කන්ධාරි	...	Kaṇḍari
346	වානර	...	Vānara
347	කුත්තනි	...	Kuttani
348	අභ්‍රවොර	...	Aṁbachōra
349	ගජකුම්භ	...	Gajakumbha

ජනක නාම.			Jātaka.
350	කෙසව	...	Késawa
351	අයකුට	..	Ayakúṭa
352	අරසුද	...	Arañña
353	සන්ධිභෙද	...	Sandhibhēda
354	දෙවතාපාණ	...	Déwatūpaṇha
චුල්ලකුණුවග්ගො පඤ්චමො— <i>Chullakunālanagga pañchamó.</i>			
චතුක්කනිපාතො— <i>Chatukka nipātaṇ.</i>			
355	මණිකුණ්ඩල	...	Maṇikundala
356	සුජත	...	Sujāta
357	ධොනසාක	...	Dhónasāka
358	උරග	..	Uruga
359	ඝත	...	Ghata
360	කාරණ්ඩිය	...	Kāraṇḍiya
361	ලඤ්ඤික	...	Laṇḍukika
362	චුල්ලධම්මපාල	...	Chulladhammapāla
363	සුවණ්ණමිග	...	Suwaṇṇamiga
364	සුසොඨි	...	Sussōṇḍi
මණිකුණ්ඩලවග්ගො පඨමො— <i>Maṇikundalanagga paṭhamó.</i>			
365	වණ්ණරොහ	...	Vaṇṇarōha
366	සිලවිමංස	...	Silawimansa
367	හිරි	...	Hiri
368	අහිතුඤ්ඤික	...	Ahituṇḍika
369	ගුම්භිය	...	Gumbiya
370	සාලිය	...	Sāliya
371	තච්ඡාර	...	Tachasāra
372	මිත්තවිඤ්ඤ	...	Mittawindaka
373	පලාස	...	Palāsa
වණ්ණරොහවග්ගො ද්විතියො— <i>Vaṇṇarohanagga dutiyó.</i>			
374	දිග්ඝිකිකොසල	...	Dīghītikōsala
375	මිගපොතක	...	Migapōtaka
376	මුසික	...	Mūsika
377	චුල්ලධනුග්ග	...	Chulladhanuggaha
378	කපොත	...	Kapōta
පඤ්චකනිපාතො— <i>Pañchakanipātaṇ.</i>			
379	අචාරිය	...	A'wāriya
380	සෙතකෙතු	...	Sétakētu
381	දර්ශ්ම	...	Darśmukha
382	නෙරු	...	Nēru
383	අසංක	...	A'saṅka
384	මිගාලොප	...	Migālōpa
385	සිරිකාලකාණ්ණි	...	Sirikālakāṇṇi
386	බිලාර	...	Bilāra
387	කුක්කුට	...	Kukkūṭa
388	ධම්මධර	...	Dhammadhaja
389	නන්දියමිග	...	Nandiyamiga
අචාරියවග්ගො පඨමො— <i>A'wāriyanagga paṭhamó.</i>			

ජතක නාම.		Jātaka.
390	ඛරපුත්ත	Kharaputta
391	සුචි	Suchi
392	තුණ්ඩිල	Tuṇḍila
393	සුවණ්ණකකුට	Suwaṇṇakakkuṭa
394	මය්‍යා	Mayha
395	ධජවිභේදක	Dhajawibhéṭhaka
396	භිසපුප්ඵ	Bhisapuppha
397	විඝාස	Vighāsa
398	වට්ඨක	Vatṭaka
399	කාක	Kāka

සෙනකවග්ගො දුතියො—*Sénakavaggó dutiyó.*

ජනිපාතං සමත්තං—*Chhānipātaṇ samattaṇ.*

400	කුකුට	Kukkūṭa
401	මණෝජ	Manója
402	සුතානු	Sutānu
403	ගිජ්ඣ	Gijjha
404	දඬුපුප්ඵ	Dabbhapuppha
405	දසන්නක	Dasannaka
406	සත්තුභත්ත	Sattubhatta
407	අභිසේන	Aṭṭhisēna
408	කපි	Kapi
409	බකබ්‍රහ්ම	Bakabrahma

කුකුටවග්ගො පඨමො—*Kukkūṭavaggó paṭhamó.*

410	ගන්ධාර	Gandhāra
411	මහාකපි	Mahākapi
412	කුම්භකාර	Kumbhakāra
413	දළුධම්ම	Dalhadhamma
414	සෝමදත්ත	Sómadatta
415	සුසිම	Susīma
416	කෝටසිම්බලී	Koṭasimbālī
417	ධූමකාරි	Dhūmakāri
418	ජාගර	Jāgara
419	කුම්මාසපිණ්ඩ	Kummāsapiṇḍa
420	පරන්තප	Parantapa

ගන්ධාරවග්ගො දුතියො—*Gandhāravaggó dutiyó.*

සත්තානිපාතං සමත්තං—*Sattānipātaṇ samattaṇ.*

421	කච්ඡානි	Kacchāni
422	අඨසද්ද	Aṭṭhasadda
423	සුලස	Sulasa
424	සුමග්ගල	Sumāgāla
425	ගම්මමාල	Gāṃgamāla
426	චේතිය	Chétiya
427	ඉන්ද්‍රිය	Indriya
428	ආදිත්ත	A'ditta
429	අඨාන	Aṭṭhāna

	කතක සාම.	Jātaka.
430	දීපි	Dīpi
	කච්චානිවත්ත— <i>Kachchānivatṭa</i> .	
	අභිනිපාතං සමත්තං— <i>Aṭṭhanipātaṇ samattaṇ</i> .	
431	ගිජ්ඣ	Gijjha
432	කොසම්බ	Kōsamba
433	මහාසුඛ	Mahāsukha
434	චුලසුඛ	Chullasukha
435	හාරිත	Hārīta
436	රාජරාජ	Rājōwāda
437	පදමානවක	Padamānawaka
438	ලොමසකස්සප	Lōmasakassapa
439	චක්කවාක	Chakkawāka
440	හලිද්දිරග	Haliddirāga
441	සමුග්ග	Samugga
442	පුට්ඨිමංස	Pūṭimansa
443	තිත්තිර	Tittira
	නවනිපාතං සමත්තං— <i>Navanipātaṇ samattaṇ</i> .	
444	චතුධාර	Chatudwāra
445	කණ්ණ	Kaṇha
446	චතුපොසතික	Chatupōsathika
447	සංඛා	Saṅkha
448	චුලබොධි	Chullabōdhi
449	කණ්ණදිපාසන	Kaṇhadīpāyana
450	නිග්‍රොධ	Nigrōdha
451	තක්කාල	Takkāla
452	මහාධම්මපාල	Mahādhammapāla
453	කුක්කු	Kukkuha
454	මට්ඨකුණ්ඩල	Matṭakunḍala
455	බිලාරකොසිය	Bilārakōsiya
456	චක්කවාක	Chakkawāka
457	භූරිපාඤ්ඤා	Bhūripaṇḍā
458	මහාමාංගල	Mahāmaṅgala
459	ඝත	Ghata
	දසනිපාතං සමත්තං— <i>Dasanipātaṇ samattaṇ</i> .	
460	මාතුපොසක	Mātupōsaka
461	ජුහා	Juḥa
462	ධම්ම	Dhamma
463	උදය	Udaya
464	පාණියා	Pāṇīya
465	යුධාජ්ජයා	Yudhajjaya
466	දසරථ	Dasaratha
467	සංවර	Saṇwara
468	සුප්පාරක	Suppāraka
	එකාදසනිපාතං සමත්තං— <i>E'kādasanipātaṇ samattaṇ</i> .	
469	චුලකුණ්ඩල	Chullakunḍala
470	භද්දාසාල	Bhaddasāla
471	සමුද්දාවාණීර	Samuddawāṇīra

ජාතක නාම.				Jātaka.
472	කාම	...	..	Kāma
473	ජනසන්ථව	...	...	Janasanthawa
474	මහාකණ්ණ	...	...	Mahākāṇṇha
475	මහාපදුම	...	...	Mahāpaduma
476	මිත්තාමිත්ත	...	...	Mittāmitta
වාදසතිපාතං සමන්තං— <i>Dvādasā nipātaṇ samattaṇ.</i>				
477	අඹ	...	...	Amba
478	ඵඤ්ඤ	...	...	Phandana
479	ජවනහංස	..	...	Jawanahapsa
480	චුලලාභාරද	...	...	Chullanārada
481	දූත	...	...	Dūta
482	කාලිංගබෝධි	...	...	Kālīṅgabōdhi
483	අකිත්ති	...	...	Akitti
484	තක්කාරිය	...	...	Takkāriya
485	රුරුමිග	...	...	Rūrumiga
486	සරභමිග	...	...	Sarabhamiga
තෙරසතිපාතං සමන්තං— <i>Tērasanipātaṇ samattaṇ.</i>				
487	සාලිකේදර	...	...	Sālikēdāra
488	චන්දකිණ්ණර	...	...	Chandakīṇṇara
489	මහාඋක්කුස	...	...	Mahā-ukkusa
490	උද්දාල	...	...	Uddāla
491	භිසා	...	...	Bhisa
492	සුරුචි	...	...	Suruchi
493	පඤ්චුපොසථ	...	...	Pañchupōsatha
494	මහාමොර	...	...	Mahāmōra
495	තච්ඡෙස්සකර	...	...	Tachchessakara
496	මහාවාණිජ	...	...	Mahāvāṇija
497	සාධින	...	...	Sādhiṇa
498	දසබ්බාහමණ	...	...	Dasabāhamaṇa
499	භික්ඛාපරමපාර	...	...	Bhikkhāparamparā
පකිණ්ණකාමණ්ණනා සමන්තං— <i>Pakiṇṇakamāṇṇanā samattā.</i>				
500	මාතංග	...	...	Mātāṅga
501	චිත්තසම්බුත	...	...	Chittasambhūta
502	සිවි	...	...	Siwi
503	සිරිමන්ද	...	...	Sirimanda
504	රොහතමිග	...	...	Rōhantamiga
505	හංස	...	...	Hapsa
506	සත්ථිගුම්බ	...	...	Sattigumba
507	භල්ලාථි	...	...	Bhallāṭṭhi
508	සොමනස්ස	...	...	Sōmanassa
509	චම්පෙය්‍ය	...	...	Champeyya
510	මහාපඤ්චාසන	...	...	Mahāpañcāśana
511	හත්ථිපාල	...	...	Hatthipāla
512	අයොහර	...	...	Ayōghara
513	පඤ්චපාදිත	...	...	Pañchapaṇḍita
විසතිනිපාතං සමන්තං— <i>Visati nipātaṇ samattaṇ.</i>				

ජනක සාම.			Jātaka.
514	කීඡඤ	...	Kicchhanda
515	කුම්භ	...	Kumbha
516	ජයද්දිස	...	Jayaddisa
517	ඡඤ්ඤා	...	Chhaddanta
518	සම්භව	...	Sambhawa
519	මහාකපි	...	Mahākapi
520	දකරකඛ්ඨ	...	Dakarakkha
521	පණ්ඩර	...	Paṇḍara
522	සම්බුල	...	Sambulā
523	ගණ්ඨිඤ්ඤ	...	Gaṇḍatinduka
තිංසතිනිපාතං සමන්තං— <i>Tiṇṣati nipātaṇ samattaṇ.</i>			
524	තෙසකුණ	...	Tésakūṇa
525	සරභභ්ග	...	Sarabhaṅga
526	අලංබුසා	...	Alambusā
527	සාඝ්ඝපාල	...	Saṅghapāla
528	චුලසුතසොම	...	Chullasutasōma
චත්තාලිසතිනිපාතං සමන්තං— <i>Chattāḷṣati nipātaṇ samattaṇ.</i>			
529	නලීනි	...	Nalini
530	උම්මදන්ති	...	Ummadanti
531	මහාබෝධි	...	Mahābōdhi
පණ්ණසතිනිපාතං සමන්තං— <i>Pannāsa nipātaṇ samattaṇ.</i>			
532	සොණක	...	Sōṇaka
533	සංකීච	...	Saṅkicchā
සත්ථිනිපාතං සමන්තං— <i>Sattihinipātaṇ samattaṇ.</i>			
534	කුස	...	Kusa
535	සොනන්ද	...	Sōnanda
සත්තනිපාතං සමන්තං— <i>Sattatinipātaṇ samattaṇ.</i>			
536	චුලහංස	...	Chullahaṅsa
537	මහාහංස	...	Mahāhaṅsa
538	සුධාමොරත	...	Sudhāmōra
539	කුණාල	...	Kuṇāla
540	මහාසුතසොම	...	Mahāsutasōma
අස්තිනිපාතං සමන්තං— <i>Asttinipātaṇ samattaṇ.</i>			
541	මුග්ගපක්ඛ	...	Mūggapakkha
542	මහාජනක	...	Mahājānaka
543	සාම	...	Sāma
544	නිමි	...	Nimi
545	ඛණ්ඩාල	...	Khaṇḍahāla
546	මහානාරදකස්සප	...	Mahānārada-kassapa
547	භුරිදත්ත	...	Bhūridatta
548	විධුර	...	Vidhura
549	උම්මග්ග	...	Ummagga
550	වෙස්සන්තර	...	Vessantara

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Marriage Customs of the Moors of Ceylon.—By AHAMADU BAWA, Esq., Proctor, S.C. ...	219
The Ethnology of the “Moors” of Ceylon.—By the Hon. P. RĀMANATHAN	234
Captain João Ribeiro: His Work on Ceylon, and the French Translation thereof by the Abbé le Grand. —By DONALD FERGUSON, Esq. ...	263
The Antiquities of Mēdamahanuwara.—By J. H. F. HAMILTON, Esq., C.C.S.	310



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THE MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE MOORS
OF CEYLON.

By AHAMADU BAWA, Esq., Proctor, S. C.

(Communicated by B. W. BAWA, Esq., Advocate.)

(Read February 26, 1888.)



IF the pun be pardoned, it may be remarked with perfect truth that matrimony among the Moors of Ceylon is merely a "matter of money,"—love and courtship playing no parts as factors in the great social institution. This fact is fully accounted for by the seclusion and ignorance in which the girls are brought up, the religious restrictions upon social intercourse between the sexes, and the total subjection of the youths of the community to their parents and guardians in all that relates to matrimonial affairs.

Among the Moors overtures of marriage invariably originate with the relatives of the prospective wife, the amount available as dowry and the caste of the lady being important points to start with. As a rule, a girl is considered eligible for marriage at twelve and a boy at sixteen, for at eighteen a

girl is considered an old maid, and a bachelor of twenty-five is a *rara avis*. But, as a consequence of the dowry system and the entire absence of anything like elopement or clandestine marriage, there is necessarily a very large number of old maids. The unhappy condition of these creatures, without education, secluded from the world and its pleasures and delights, obliged to spend their lives within the four walls of a house sighing for the light and comparative liberty their more fortunate sisters enjoy, may be imagined; while only a Moor can appreciate the feelings of those parents who, for want of the wherewithal to furnish a dowry, lack the means of emancipating their daughters from their darkness and drudgery. If the intelligent men of the community would but reflect on the consequences of the pernicious dowry system and the daily increasing misery its perpetuation entails on the masses, they would surely endeavour to reform it. But it is to be feared that reform in this particular at all events is still very far off.

As I have said, among the wealthy families early marriages are the rule, and matches are often made even before the girls enter on their teens. In all cases where eligible *machchāṅkal*—i.e., cousins, or sons of mother's brother or father's sister—are available, preference is accorded to them almost as a matter of right. In the absence of any such, a young man of equal caste is fixed on, and negotiations with his relatives commenced. This proceeding is called *sampantam pēsukiratu* (literally speaking, "connection"). For this purpose some notable and elderly person is entrusted with the task, being duly instructed as to details of dowry, &c. At an auspicious hour he proceeds to the house of the young man's parents, and commences his duties as Hymen's ambassador by a faithful enumeration of the advantages of an alliance between the respective families, enlarging upon (let us say) 'A'yēsha's qualities and qualifications, her age, complexion, and culinary skill, her ability to read the *Kurān* in the original, her amiability and obedience, and concluding with a description of the dowry which her father offers in

lands, gold and silver, brass and copperware (*veṅkala pātīram*), household furniture (*viḍḍu taḍḍumuḍḍu*), and cash (*rokkam*), in all amounting to, say, five thousand rixdollars. Ahamadu Lebbe, in his turn, admitting the personal eligibility of the amiable 'A'yesha, objects to the dowry as insufficient, and urges that his son Mírā Lebbe has had better offers from other sources, drawing special attention to the utter inadequacy of the cash part of the dowry to meet the expenses of such a wedding as Mírā Lebbe should have. Satisfied with having broken the ice, the ambassador returns, and urges the lady's father to increase the sum to a more reasonable amount. Soon after a meeting is convened of the male members of Mírā Lebbe's family,—uncles, brothers, and cousins of mature age,—and the match being decided on, the dowry is finally settled, say, as follows :—

		Rds.
One-fourth of the garden Hiṭina-watta	...	1,000
One-fourth of the house standing thereon	...	1,000
The paddy field called Aādena-kumbura	...	1,000
In gold and silver jewellery	...	1,000
In brass and copperware (<i>veṅkala pātīram</i>)	...	500
In household furniture	...	500
<i>Rokkam</i> , or cash	...	1,000
Total...		6,000

Every item should be estimated in even numbers, and, except the item of cash, which alone goes to the bridegroom, not much importance is attached to them, nor is their value critically examined, all but the cash going to the bride. If the *rokkam* is the amount usual in the particular caste and class there is no further haggling, and the matrimonial ambassador pays another visit to Ahamadu Lebbe. Arrived there he enumerates afresh the advantages of the match proposed, and hands the above-mentioned memorandum to Mírā Lebbe, eloquently urging his acceptance of the terms. After this a similar meeting takes place at Mírā Lebbe's house, for neglect to consult everybody who is anybody to either of the parents would be resented as a life-long insult. At this meeting it is agreed *nem. con.* to accept the proposal, and the acceptance

is accordingly signified through the envoy to the opposite party. A short interval having elapsed, a formal deputation from the bride's family is sent to that of the bridegroom for the confirmation of the *sampantam* already informally concluded.

On an auspicious day, or rather night, agreed on by the parties, and after some light refreshment, a band of fifteen or twenty friends of the bride's family proceed to the house of the future bridegroom, where they are welcomed by his friends and accommodated with seats on the matted floor spread for the occasion with white cloths, and served with the inevitable betel. Hereupon a solemn farce is enacted. The host or head of the family addresses his visitors collectively thus: "Our estimable relatives and friends, to what good luck does my house owe this unexpected yet welcome visit at this time of night? How can I recompense the honour you have done me?" The office of spokesman is not always filled by the head of the family. If he is not gifted with eloquence, some good speaker is chosen. In reply, the spokesman on the other side says: "The sun and the moon have their forces of attraction and gravitation, the earth and all therein are happily influenced by the same laws of nature: as there are affinities in nature, so there are certain affinities between men, a proper union of which, as in the case of the diamond, may produce the richest gem!" This speech is received with silent acclamation, no cheering, clapping of hands, or other noisy demonstration being considered correct. A general grin exhibits the appreciation of the audience. The speaker then continues: "Considering these universal laws of affinity and attraction, is it strange that we should be drawn hither by the brilliance of Ahamadu's house and his countenance?" A great deal more is said in the same inflated strain, and the speaker on concluding is greeted with a grin of approbation that reflects each wick in every lamp sixteen times in the marble-white teeth of each member of the assemblage. After much more palaver of this kind it is elicited that the deputa-

tion has come to solicit Mírâ Lebbe as a husband for 'A'yeshâ, the daughter of Hassim Marikâr, their dear friend and near relative. This time another panegyric is then passed by the host upon the virtues and merits of the bride elect, and the mutual advantages to the respective families of the proposed alliance reiterated. A *fâtihah*¹ is pronounced by the priest as a final ratification of the compact, but on this occasion nothing is said about the dowry. Mírâ and 'A'yeshâ are now affianced, although the ancient custom of exchanging rings, now obsolete, has not been gone through. A rich feast follows, and the party disperses in the best of humours.

From this time a periodical exchange of presents keeps the flame from dying out. If the *Muharram*, or *Hâjî Perunâl*, happen to intervene between betrothal and marriage, the bridegroom is expected to send sundry presents of silk *cambâyas* and *king-kalf* jackets to the bride, and similar gifts to her mother and sisters; which compliment the bride responds to with trays of rice and curries and all kinds of sweetmeats, in the preparation of which 'A'yeshâ is expected to have a hand.

There is yet another ceremony before the marriage, viz., the payment of the *chítanâm*, or dowry money, which is a function of importance, and takes place some months in advance of the nuptials. As has been said already, the cash is the most important part of the dowry, for it alone goes to the husband, and it enables him to meet the wedding expenses and to purchase the bride's *trousseau*. The wedding *trousseau*, called *kaḍḍa uḍuppáḍḍa*, literally, "to tie and to clothe," consists of a gold neck ornament called *táli*, a silk *cambâya*, *raiwukkai*, and jacket to match, with a duplicate set of more ordinary materials. The presentation of this *chítanappanâm* is a great event in the life of the young Moor, both because it is the public announcement of the intended wedding, and because he then becomes the possessor of a larger sum of money than

¹ The first chapter of the *Kurân*.—B., *Non. Sec.*

he has probably ever owned before. On an auspicious day, after partaking of the usual *pāṭchōru papikāram*, or "milk-rice" and cakes, a party of the bride's immediate friends, to the number of about twenty, attended by the family priest or *Lebbe* and a brother or cousin of the bride carrying the *chitaṇappaṇam* of the sum agreed on, with some betel leaves, a few pieces of saffron, and a couple of limes put into a silk handkerchief held by the four cousins in the right hand, proceed to the young man's house. There the party is greeted with a copious sprinkling of rose-water and invited to take seats, which they do on the white carpeted floor, each according to his seniority or social position; whilst the bearer of the money places the bundle on a brass betel stand before the priest of the bridegroom's party, who is a most important personage on all such occasions. After the usual chew of betel, &c., they proceed to business by the priest undoing the bundle and offering up a *fātihah*. This done, he solemnly hands the handkerchief and its contents to the young man, who in turn transfers it to his father or elder brother, who again passes it to the mother, by whom it is carefully locked up. They next proceed to the selection of a day for the wedding, in doing which particular care is taken. The favourite months are *Zul K'ada*, *Zul Hija*, *Rajab*; and the favourite days of the week, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The ominous days of the Muhammadan calendar are studiously avoided, such, for instance, as the day on which Jonah was swallowed by the whale, or that on which Joseph was thrown into the pit, or the anniversary of the day when Muhammad lost his front tooth at the battle of *Al-Badr*. The day fixed for a date within three months from the *chitaṇam* night, a *fātihah* is again offered up by the priest, whilst the company hold up both hands in a supplicating manner, pronouncing the "amen" at the stops and kissing the tips of their fingers at the conclusion. A sumptuous repast is now served to the assembled guests, and a final *fātihah* pronounced, when betel is again served

round, and the priest gives the signal for departure by rising from his place.

From this time great activity prevails in both houses in preparation for the great event in prospect. The houses are whitewashed, *maṇḍapams* and pandals are erected, and a tinsel throne is prepared in the bridal chamber. About ten days before the day fixed for the wedding the invitations issue. These do not take the form of the neat and elegant wedding cards so well known to us—anything more tedious and wearisome than the process adopted can hardly be imagined. The bridegroom, arrayed in his best and attended by a large party of friends, is bound to call at every house of every Moor, high or low, within the radius of several miles, and invite its inmates of both sexes in the following terms: "Who is in this house?" Some one from within—often an invisible old dame—says: "Who are you?" The spokesman of the inviting party cries out in stentorian tones, "We have come to invite all the males and females inhabiting this house to the wedding of Mírā Lebbe, son of Ahamadu Lebbe, of New Moor street, on the night of Monday, the seventeenth of this month of *Rajab*, and ask all of you to give your attendance early." A single word, "*Nallam*" ("good"), is frequently the only response; but in the case of intimate friends or relations quite a different reception often awaits them. In some cases a feast is prepared and partaken of, in some merely a light refection or *pāṭchōru*, &c.; but as many of these cannot, for physical reasons, be included in the day's programme, the distribution of these privileged visits is a matter of no small difficulty. It may be imagined that a ten days' peregrination and a daily surfeit of *pāṭchōru paṇikāram* and sweetmeats, added to all the worry and trouble incidental to a great Moorish wedding, must be a trial of no ordinary kind; but placidly, contentedly, and even triumphantly do the victims deport themselves, for there is no variation in the pulse of the Moor, no alcoholic perturbation of his brain: provided his stomach is full he is happy.

It is fashionable at the present day not to forget the "infidel" section of the bridegroom's acquaintance. On a memorable occasion, not many years ago, the Governor and many of the *élite* of society graced one of these weddings in Kandy. How they were entertained and what impressions they carried away with them are matters of history.

The whole circle of friends, patrons,—nay, even acquaintances,—has a few days appropriated to its entertainment. Two or three large square tables are loaded with every kind of sweetmeats, cakes, preserves, biscuits, sherbets, and fruits imaginable, served mostly in glass dishes and plates (of course borrowed for the occasion, as the Moors in their daily life do not even use a tumbler for drinking). Teacups are ranged opposite each chair in one of the best rooms, or a temporary *maṇḍapam* hung with white cloth and ornamented for the occasion, where the alien guests, as they arrive, are received and treated to the aforesaid delicacies and tea.

Let us now suppose that the wedding day has arrived. On that day takes place the great feast at the bridegroom's house, called *māppillai viḍḍu pakatchōru*. By midday all the invited guests from far and near have arrived, and seated themselves on the floor with legs crossed tailor-fashion, shoulder to shoulder, according to caste and condition, and having their backs to the walls. As each guest arrives he is served with the indispensable betel; but when all have assembled and the rooms are full, large basins of water are placed at intervals along the lines of squatting guests, with a teacup floating in it, and huge brass spittoons by them, into which every guest washes first his mouth and then his hand preparatory to eating. The provender is served in trays, each tray consisting usually of a dish of ghee-rice, a fried fowl, a dish of mutton curry, another of beef, half a dozen vegetable curries, one or two pickles, soup, *tayir* (curdled milk), and other things sufficient for eight or ten people. These trays are passed along by about a dozen men stationed within arms'

length of each other in the middle of the assemblage (*kaḷari*), and are placed on the floor at such distances from each other as to enable about five men to form a group round each tray. When all the guests have been supplied with trays, plates are supplied for eating from, and the priest having said "*Bismillah*" ("in the name of Allah") a simultaneous attack commences, and is steadily and silently continued. All cease eating about the same time, as if by consent, and drink water, warm or cold, after which they wash their hands into the plate from which they had been eating. The *débris* is now cleared away and betel served again, the priest pronounces the usual *fātihah*, and the guests disperse, each saying to the bridegroom "*pōyiddu vārēṇ*," literally, "I will go and come again." The men all gone, the fair sex are entertained in a similar manner.

By about 3 o'clock, the house being clear of visitors, a number of trays are despatched, each covered with a white cloth and carried on the head of a cooly. They are accompanied by some young male member of the bridegroom's family in gala dress, and are taken to the bride's house. There he is received with much cordiality, and is presented with a gold ring.

In the evening there is a fresh assembling of the friends of the families "to do honour to the bridegroom," as they call it, that is, to give him the usual *chantōshām* and accompany him to the bride's, where the *kāvin*, or "marriage rites," are to be solemnised. The guests having again seated themselves in order of rank and seniority, and after the chew of betel, at a propitious moment announced by the priest a move is made for the presentation of the *chantōshām*. A scribe is improvised, and the immediate or intimate friends of the bridegroom head the list with the highest sum (say fifty rupees), then follow others with smaller sums; never less, however, than single rupees, which, while the minimum amount, make up the bulk of the contributions. Thus, sometimes a thousand rupees have

been collected in addition to rings of varying value presented by the relatives.

While this is going on in the hall or principal room in the house, a very different scene takes place within. The bridegroom, who is seldom present at the giving of the *chantôshâm*, is supposed to be at his toilet. To the due performance of this a bath is essential, in the course of which the cosmetics used are some burnt lime, ground saffron, and *mî* poonac, soap being only used by extreme reformers, and being regarded as far from an improvement on the *mî* poonac as a purifier. Under a white canopy held over his head by four admiring friends, and escorted by a dozen or more others of about his own age, the bridegroom is conducted to the nearest well (a tub, being a modern innovation, is quite out of the question), the attendants keeping up a continual chorus of "*olu*" "*olu*." What this means I do not know, unless it represents the *wuzu*, or lesser ablution, which a man must perform before entering a mosque, beginning to pray, or even touching the *Kurân*.¹ Arrived at the bath the happy man sits on a chair, while his friends souse him with many chatties of cold water poured over his shaven crown, and rub him heartily with the lime, saffron, and poonac. Having returned to the house, his ablutions duly performed, he is seated in a chair and arrayed in the most gorgeous attire. A resplendent turban tastefully folded round the *Moorish cap* surmounts his head, a pair of loose silk pantaloons swathes his limbs, fastened at the waist by a rich sash or belt, a flowing silk or satin *ankarakká* reaching to the knees over a snow white cambric shirt, and a pair of slippers completes the costume. The happy man's neck is encircled by numerous gold chains and *padakkankal* (chains made of gold pieces about the size of a shilling), so that his chest is one mass of glittering gold: this, too, though Muhammadan men are strictly prohibited

O'u, Tamil, *wuzu* Arabic, "the washing of face, head, feet, &c., before every time of prayer"—the "lesser ablution," as distinguished from *ghuel*, or "greater ablution."—B., *Hon. Sec.*

from wearing any gold, even a ring on the finger. Thus attired gloriously, the bridegroom sits smiling and receiving presents and congratulations from his friends, till the time for departure arrives.

At the proper juncture the priest pronounces a *fátihah*, to which all present respond by the usual "amen"; and a start is made with a flourish of tom-toms, cymbals, and flutes, under a brilliant display of fireworks, blue lights, and pendant lamps. He sits in an open carriage if the bride's house is distant, otherwise he goes on foot attended by two boys dressed up for the occasion, one on either side with fans in their hands; and an immense concourse of relatives, friends, and of the "hoi polloi" to the number of several hundreds, the cynosure of all eyes. On the way, if the procession passes the residence of particular friends, the bridegroom receives many an ovation, and much sprinkling of rose-water. On approaching the bride's house a halt is made at some distance, the remainder of the road being covered with *pávádai*, or white cloth, for the party to walk on. Numerous *allathés* greet him every few yards. The *allathé* consists of three plates: one containing saffron water, one cocoanut milk, one betel and small copper coins, carried by three men having at their head a relative of the bride, who advances with the rose-water sprinkler. Having sprinkled the bridegroom and his immediate attendants, by whom the compliment is forthwith returned, the two first-mentioned plates are waived round the bridegroom's head three times in succession; he spits into the plates at the end of each performance, when the betel and coppers are thrown high over his head, producing a scramble among the poor. This ceremony is repeated at intervals frequent in proportion to the number of male friends of the bride's family, the last, and not the least, being the bride's father or brother, the head of the family, as the case may be. Arrived at the house, and before entering it, a boy, generally a brother of the bride, washes the feet of the bridegroom with rose-water, for which he is rewarded with a ring. He then leads the

bridegroom by the hand to the *kávin kalari*, where he takes his seat on his haunches before the priest. The attendant multitude take their seats, and are served with betel and spittoons, as before described, whereupon a *kaduttam* is drawn out in the following form :—

On the 30th day of the month *Zul Hija*, in the year of the *Hijrat* 1299, being the 11th day of November, 1882, on the occasion of the marriage of *Mirá Lebbe*, son of *Ahamadu Lebbe*, of New Moor street, with '*A'yesha*, daughter of *Hassim Marikár*, for the *magar* of 100 *kalangi* of red Egyptian gold, by the *váli* of the bride's father, to *Mahallam Seka Ismail Lebbe Hájiar*, priest, the dowry agreed upon is 10,000 rds., viz. 1,000 rds. in cash, &c.

(Signed) *MÍRÁ LEBBE*, Bridegroom.

(Signed) *HASSIM MARIKÁR*, Bride's father.

Witnesses: 1 ———, Priest.
2 ———
3 ———

This *kaduttam* is the only written record of the marriage ; it is signed and witnessed by the parties, the priest, and two responsible witnesses, and taken charge of by the priest, in whose custody it remains thereafter, exposed to all the perils to which such documents are liable in the hands of irresponsible and unscrupulous men. The persistency, however, with which this document is executed and the custom observed, though not required by any law, Muhammadan or otherwise, is only another proof of the absurd conservatism of the Moors.

The next function, in the usual order of things, is the *kávin*. The priest takes the bridegroom's right hand in his own, repeats a formula in Arabic three times in succession, and at the end of each addresses the bridegroom thus : "Are you, *Mirá Lebbe*, son of *Ahamadu Lebbe*, willing to take '*A'yesha*, daughter of *Hassim Marikár*, as your wife, for the *magar* of 100 *kalangi* of red Egyptian gold ?" To which *Mirá Lebbe* answers in the affirmative. The priest pronounces another Arabic formula, after which he, with two witnesses, enters

the bridal chamber, and similarly addresses the bride, substituting the word "husband" for "wife." To this she is expected to answer audibly; but in her shyness she refuses to do anything of the kind, some elderly relative saying "yes" for her; and the party returns to *kaḷari*. The priest then utters a final *fātiḥah* by way of benediction, and this terminates the *kāvin*.

After the conclusion of this ceremony, the bridegroom is conducted to the bridal chamber by her father or brother, and the ceremony of tying the *tāli* takes place. Gorgeously dressed in *king-kalf* silk and satin, and loaded with gold from head to foot, surrounded by a crowd of old dames chowing and spitting, exhausted by heat and fatigue, the poor bride is seated in her *arakaddil*, or "tinsel throne," more like an inanimate statue than a living bride in her hymeneal glory. There is a sudden stir, every woman hitherto bareheaded emulously displaying her ornaments for the admiration of her companions, now promptly covers her head and (partially) her face with the corner of her *cambāya*; while the sisters or nearest female relatives of the bridegroom hand him the *tāli*. The bridegroom is expected to clasp the *tāli* round his bride's throat, but probably finding it difficult to get near enough to her, his awkward attempt would fail but for the help at the critical moment of the relative referred to above, who adjusts the sacred *tāli*: never to be removed during the lifetime of the spouses. This is the *kaddu*, "knot," or "tying." The *uḍuppáḍḍu* yet remains.

The *tāli* being tied, the bridegroom is expected to clothe (*uḍuppáḍḍu*) the bride. For this purpose the relative hands the bridegroom a silk *cambāya* to put round the waist of the bride. She is made to stand up *nolens volens* (usually *nolens*), and the bridegroom attempts to encompass her waist with the garment, but in most cases has to resort to the help of his relatives. All this time the bride neither sees nor hears, and after the ceremony the bridegroom, sitting on the bed near by, has his first look at his future life-partner.

The position is embarrassing for him, as all eyes, mostly critical, many disparaging, are fixed on him, and the accompanying comments are not always inaudible.

While the bridegroom is paying this hymeneal penalty to the practices of his people, his friends are enjoying themselves elsewhere. In Moorish circles every breakfast and dinner is an exact copy of the other—the same dishes, the same arrangement, the same drinks (hot and cold water), the same “*saláms*” and “*àlekams*.”¹

The feast for the males over, the poor females take their turn. They likewise arrange themselves in the order of their castes, and otherwise go through precisely the same routine, except that no *chantóshám* is expected of or given by them. While, however, no male condescends to carry home for the little ones any of the sweetmeats served, their spouses do not hesitate to share that part of the contents of the tray among themselves for the purpose. At about 12 P.M. or later they depart, and then the bridegroom dines for the first time in the bride's house, with a few of her relatives. It is not till perhaps 2 A.M. that he retires to the bridal chamber.

Early next morning the married sisters and female cousins or nearest female relations of the bridegroom visit the bride's chamber and prepare her for the bath. Shortly after the newly-married couple are conducted under a white canopy, this time held aloft by fairer fingers, and with the same chorus of “*ohu*” “*ohu*,” sitting side by side, are bathed. No males are permitted to be present. The bath over, the morning repast, consisting of milk-rice, cakes, and plantains, is served. The happy couple are seated on the floor and surrounded by the female friends of the two families, the ceremony of mutual feeding takes place. The bridegroom helping himself to a quantity of “milk-rice,” mixes it with some sugar, mashed plantain, and more milk, in his plate,

¹ The usual Muslim salutation is “*as salamu 'alekam*,” “the peace of God be with you.”—B, *Mon. Sec.*

and conveys three handfuls to the bride's mouth. This she is made to swallow, whether she wills or not ; she in her turn must return the compliment in a precisely similar manner.

This concludes the series of ceremonies, and the happy couple are left to themselves till the third day. On that day the bridegroom is expected to go out for the first time marketing to buy *maḍi-máñkáy* ("waist mango"). He returns home in the afternoon with four or five cooly-loads of all kinds of fruits, vegetables, and presents for the bride, her mother, and sisters, the presents usually assuming the form of *cambáyas* and cloths. On this night the bridegroom's family is invited to dinner at the bride's house, and the next night she and her family are similarly entertained at the bridegroom's. From this time feasts at intervals take place at the houses of the mutual friends over a period of some months. The happy couple live in *bína*,¹ at least until the first child is born, but if a part of the house has been given in dowry, the best room is appropriated to them.

¹ *I.e.*, at the bride's parents' house.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE "MOORS" OF CEYLON.

By the Hon. P. RAMANATHAN.

(Read April 26, 1888.)



THAT section of our community which passes principally among our European settlers by the name of "Moors" number, according to the last Census, about 185,000 souls. They are all Muhammadans. In the Singhalese districts they occupy themselves with petty trade of all kinds, as pedlars and boutique (small shop) keepers. The poorer classes are mostly boatmen, fishermen, and coolies. In the Tamil provinces they pursue agriculture and fishing. In physique and features they closely resemble the Tamils, and as to the language they speak, it is Tamil, even in purely Singhalese districts. I propose in this Paper to consider the nationality of this community.

In ancient Roman history the name of Mauri frequently occurs as the inhabitants of Mauritania,¹ the westernmost country of North Africa, washed by the Atlantic on the west and the Mediterranean on the north. They were a nomadic, idolatrous, and illiterate race, and for many years vainly resisted the religion and power of the successors of Muhammad. When they became converts to the new faith (A.C. 698-709) their great ambition was to learn the language and affect the manners of the Arabs. In the words of Gibbon, they were "proud to adopt the language, name, and origin of

¹ Known to the Greeks as Maurusia, and in later days to the Portuguese as Máruccos, and to the French as Marocco. In English it is Márocco, and less correctly Morocco.

Arabs.”¹ The natives of Mauritania and of the regions extending eastwards to the Euphrates were known to the Greeks and Romans also by the name of Saracens. It is matter of history how this

“Countless multitude,
Syrian, Moor, Saracen, fresh renegade,
Persian and Copt and Tartar in one bond
Of erring faith conjoined—strong in the youth
And heat of zeal—a dreadful brotherhood,”

overran Spain and attempted to conquer Europe north of the Pyrennees, and how their fate was decided by the dreadful battle fought on the plains of Tours.² When the Portuguese navigated the eastern seas in the fifteenth century, and found Muhammadans along the western shores of India and Ceylon, they gave them the name of *Moros*, which in English is “Moors.”³ In India that name is no longer used to denote Muhammadans; but in Ceylon we continue to use it in a loose way, as if our information will not permit us to speak definitely, or to identify the nationality of this people. I believe that the honorific *Máarakar* or *Marikar*, which appears so often appended to a Muhammadan name both in South India and Ceylon, is a relic of Portuguese official language in a Tamil garb. It means “a man of Márocco,”

¹ *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, VI., p. 353 (Dr. Smith's ed.).

² Mr. Harris, who accompanied the British mission to Morocco last year (1887), gives a vivid account of the present condition of the Moors in the pages of the *Illustrated London News*, from which I quote as follows :—“The Moors, like all other dynasties, have risen and fallen, and though their fall was not as the fall of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, or Rome, yet it was to themselves as disastrous as any, for though they were not exterminated, they had to fly back to their wild African soil, where year by year they are sinking deeper into ignorance and bigotry. They have lost their activity, these Moors of to-day. Instead of leading his soldiers to battle, their Sultan sits in splendid halls, passing his life in indolence, save when, now and again on the march from one capital to another, he deigns to chastise some erring tribe with fire and sword. The Moors, whose ancestors once conquered in almost every war they undertook, sit and sigh and sing quaint ballads to Granada, their mountain home in the Sierra Nevada, and weep now and again over the keys of the houses which their ancestors possessed in Spain.” (Sept. 24, 1887.)

³ So Hindus were called by them *Gentios*, in English “Gentooes.” This word, too, has disappeared in India.

the final *ar* in *máarakar* being the epicene particle in Tamil denoting respect.¹

In the Census Report of 1881 will be found a statement showing the distribution of the population of Ceylon according to religion and nationality. The total number of Muhammadans is given as 197,775, under the following "nationalities":—

Europeans	...	...	1
Eurasians	...	...	4
Sinhalese	...	...	71
Tamils ...	...	...	715
Malays ...	...	...	8,857
Moormen...	...	...	184,536
Others ...	...	...	3,591

Those who are classed as "others" include Afghans, 130; Arabs, 450; Dekkanese, 3; Hindústání, 164; Javanese, 3; Patháni, 1,210; Tulukkar (Turks), 128, &c. We have fairly clear ideas of the nationality of these Muhammadans: but what is the nationality of the "Moormen"?

The Registrar-General and other Commissioners appointed for the taking of the Census are not primarily responsible for the term "Moor" representing a nationality in Ceylon. As I have said, our Portuguese conquerors applied the term to this community, not because that was the name it went by in its own circle or among its neighbours, but because, like the Moors of North Africa, its religion was Muhammadan. The political successors of the Portuguese—I mean the Dutch—took over the word and used it in a loose way to denote a class of people whose lingual and social characteristics they did not comprehend for several decades, either absolutely or relatively to the races which inhabit Ceylon and India. In the closing years of their rule, however, they were

¹ I do not see my way to deriving the word from the Arabic *markáb*, "a ship," because the Tamil personal noun formed from it would be *markáb-káran* or *markáb-ál*, not *marikar*. In Sinhalese, a Moor is commonly known as *marakkaldha*, the *tandal* or head of a boat (cf. *gan-váhe*, "chief of a village"), and *marakkaldha* cannot be evolved from *markáb-áhe*, but is descended almost letter for letter from the Tamil word *marakkalam*, "a wooden vessel."

convinced that the "Moors" of Ceylon were, in the main, Tamil Muhammadans.¹ But before the discovery could stamp itself on official documents and pass current in official lips, the English had arrived and found a world of work to do in supplying the material and moral wants of the country, without the leisure for entering upon ethnological questions. Their first Census of which we have any returns, and which was ordered in 1824, was therefore necessarily erroneous in classification, if not enumeration. The old term "Moors" was retained, as also I may say the old term "Malabárs"² for Tamils, who knew not that word even in dreams, as they say. The second Census taken in 1871, and the third and the last taken in 1881, eliminated "Malabárs" but retained "Moors," evidently because the Commissioners and other European officials have lacked the time or the opportunity for studying that community. By a similar misapprehension the "Kandyans" were thought to be different from the Siphalese even as late as 1866.³

¹ See *Valentyn*, ch. XV., p. 214.

² Bishop Caldwell says:—"The Portuguese arrived first on the western coast of India, and naturally called the language they found spoken on that coast by the name by which the coast itself had long been called by their Arab predecessors, viz., *Malabár*. Sailing from Malabár on voyages of exploration, they made their acquaintance with various places on the eastern or Coromandel coast, and also on the coast of Ceylon, and finding the language spoken by the fishing and sea-faring classes on the eastern coast similar to that spoken on the western, they came to the conclusion that it was identical with it, and called it, in consequence, by the same name, viz., *Malabár*, a name which has survived to our own day amongst the poorer classes of Europeans and Eurasians. The better educated members of those classes have long learned to call the language of the Malabár coast by its proper name, Malayálam, and the language of the eastern coast Tamil."—*Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Introd., p. 11 (2nd edition, 1875).

³ In his *Gazetteer*, p. 115, Casie Chetty (writing in 1834) said:—"The vast difference which the Kandyans exhibit in their customs as well as in their style of dress has led almost all European writers to treat them as a distinct race of people." And the Government Agent of the North-Western Province said, in 1866, that the population of his Province consisted of "Kandyans, Siphalese, Moors, Malabars, and Mukkuwas." (Sessional Papers of the Legislative Council, 1866, p. 217.) He ought to have said "Siphalese and Tamils," for the last three classes are Tamil.

It is noteworthy that in the Report of the Census of British India for 1881 there are no returns relating to nationality, but language is taken as equipollent to it. Surgeon-General E. Balfour, who is considered an authority on the sociology of Southern India, also uses language for nationality, as for instance in the following passage:—"The Haiderabad State has been formed from portions of four great nationalities the Canarese, the Mahratta, the Telegu, and the Gond. The number speaking the Gond language is not recorded, but out of a population of 9,845,594 the Telegu language is spoken by 4,279,108, the Mahratta by 3,147,746, and the Canarese by 1,238,519," &c.¹ Webster defines nationality to be "a race or people determined by common language and character and not by political bias or divisions." Professor Max Müller narrows this definition as follows:—"If there is one safe exponent of national character it is language. Take away," says he, "the language of a people and you destroy at once that powerful chain of tradition in thought and sentiment which holds all the generations of the same race together—if we may use an unpleasant simile—like the chain of a gang of galley slaves. These slaves, we are told, very soon fall into the same pace without being aware that their movements depend altogether on the movements of those who walk before them. It is nearly the same with us. We imagine we are altogether free in our thoughts, original and independent, and we are not aware that our thoughts are manacled and fettered by language, and that, without knowing and without perceiving it, we have to keep pace with those who walked before us thousands and thousands of years ago. Language alone binds people together and keeps them distinct from others who speak different tongues. In ancient times particularly 'language and nations' meant the same thing; and even with us our real ancestors are those whose language we speak, the fathers of our thoughts, the mothers of our hopes and fears. Blood, bones, hair, and colour are mere accidents,

¹ Cited in the Indian Census Report for 1881, vol. I, p. 201.

utterly unfit to serve as principles of scientific classification for that great family of living beings, the essential characteristics of which are thought and speech, not fibrine, serum, or colouring matter, or whatever else enters into the composition of blood.”¹ Of a similar opinion is Sir William Hunter, as may be seen from the following passage, which, by the way, is *à propos* to the subject discussed in this paper :—“Many storms of conquest (besides the Brahmanical and Buddhist invasions) have since swept over the land (Madras Presidency), and a few colonies of Mughal and Mahratta origin are to be found here and there. But the indelible evidence of language proves that the ethnical character of the population has remained stable under all their influences, and that the Madras Hindú, Muhammadan, Jain, and Christian are of the same Dravidian stock.”²

If therefore we take language as the test of nationality, the Moors of Ceylon, who speak as their vernacular the Tamil, must be adjudged Tamils. But as some ethnologists, like Dr. Tylor, maintain that language of itself affords only partial evidence of race,³ I shall dive a little deeper and prove that the conclusion I have arrived at is supported as much by the history of the Moors (so far as it may be ascertained) as by their social customs and physical features.

Those returned in the Census of 1881 as “Moors” are to

¹ *Chips from a German Workshop*, III., p. 265 (“Cornish Antiquities”).

² *Gazetteer of India*, s. v. “Madras Presidency.”

³ See article “Anthropology” in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, p. 119.

Speaking of the *political* significance attached in modern days to linguistic affinities, Sir Henry Maine says :—“If you examine the bases proposed for common nationality before the new knowledge growing out of the study of Sanskrit had been popularised in Europe, you will find them extremely unlike those which are now advocated, and even passionately advocated, in parts of the Continent. For the most part the older bases theoretically suggested were common history—common, prolonged subjection to the same sovereign, common institutions, common religion, sometimes a common language, but then a common vernacular language. That people not necessarily understanding one another’s tongue should be grouped together *politically* on the ground of linguistic affinities

be found in every part of the Island. Their distribution according to number is as follows :—

In the District of Batticaloa	...	27,000
In the City of Colombo	...	23,600
In the District of Kandy	...	22,000
Do. Kalutara	...	12,800
Do. Puttalam	...	12,500
Do. Galle	...	11,000
Do. Kurunégala	...	9,400
Do. Nuwarakalaviya	...	7,300
Do. Mannár	...	6,600
Do. Badulla	...	6,000
Do. Mátalé	...	5,900
Do. Trincomalee...	...	5,700
Do. Kégalla	...	5,000
Do. Málara	...	5,000
Do. Colombo	...	4,300
Do. Jaffna	...	2,600
Do. Negombo	...	2,500
Do. Ratnapura	...	1,500
Do. Nuwara Eliya	...	1,400
Do. Hambantota	...	1,200
Do. Vavuniya-Vilápkulam	...	700
Do. Mullaittivu	...	400

This community, numbering (as I have said) nearly 185,000 souls, includes those who are commonly known in our Law Courts as "Ceylon Moormen" and "Coast Moormen." The former class represents (as I shall show¹) the earliest settlers

assumed to prove community of descent, is quite a new idea. Nevertheless, we owe to it, at all events in part, the vast development of German nationality: and we certainly owe to it the pretensions of the Russian Empire to at least a presidency over all Slavonic communities."—*Village Communities in the East and West*, p. 210 (3rd edition).

As regards the relation between Tamils and Moors, it is not a question of "linguistic affinities," but a "common vernacular language."

Dr. Tylor admits that, "as a rule, language at least proves some proportion of ancestry—affords at least partial evidence of race." (Page 120, art. "Anthropology.")

By tracing the history, that is, the descent of the Moors, I confirm the evidence afforded by the language used by them. And I still further strengthen my conclusion by showing that their social customs and physical features are in the main Tamil.

¹ See p. 255.

who have lived in this country for several generations. The latter class represents those who have arrived from either the coast or the inner districts of South India for purposes of trade, and who intend to return to their homes. Hence the distinction which the "Ceylon Moor" draws between himself and the "Coast Moor" when he calls himself *Chónahan* and his co-religionist from South India *Chammánkáran*, a compound word made up perhaps of the Malay *sampan*, "boat," and Tamil *káran*, "man."¹ The Sighalese being aware that not only the "Coast Moors" but also the "Ceylon Moors" came from abroad in sailing vessels, call them indiscriminately *Marakkaláha*, derived obviously from the Tamil word *maram* "wood," and *kalam* "vessel." As to the respective numbers of these two classes, it was estimated in 1886 (on the evidence of several Muhammadan gentlemen) by the Sub-Committee of the Legislative Council which was appointed to consider and report upon the Muhammadan Marriage Registration Ordinance, that fully one-third of the "Moors" along the maritime country from Kalpitiya to Málara are "Coast Moors," and I have good reason for saying that much more than one-half of the "Moors" in the northern, eastern, and inland districts are also "Coast Moors." It may therefore be concluded that the 185,000 Moors in the Island are divisible almost equally between "Ceylon Moors" and "Coast Moors." The English in South India call the Muhammadans from whom our *Chammánkáran* are drawn *Lebbes* or *Lubbays*, most probably because *Lebbe* is a common ending to their names.² The "Lebbes" call themselves, and are called

¹ In Crawford's *Malay Dictionary*, *jung* is given for "a large native vessel," *prau* for "a boat," and *sampan* for "a small boat." For "a vessel of European build and form" he gives *kappal*, which is of course Tamil. If *Chammán-káran* is not to be derived from *sampan*, is it too much to derive it from *chámán*, "things," "wares," in which case it would literally mean "a dealer in wares, a pedlar"? Cf. *Chammánkódu*, the name commonly given for Bankshall street in Colombo; *Hambantósa*, in the Southern Province; *Chamman-turai*, in the Batticaloa District.

² I have not been able to ascertain whence the word *lebbe* or *lubbay* is derived. Freytag, in his *Arabic-Latin Dictionary*, gives *labib* (pl. *alibba*)

by the Tamils, *Chénahar*, on which term I shall comment hereafter.¹

In order to appreciate the relations (social, lingual, and physical) which the "Coast Moors" bear to the "Ceylon Moors," and which both bear to the rest of the Muhammadans in India, we have to remember a few facts brought to light by the Census of 1881. Of the fifty millions of Muhammadans on that peninsula, Bengal claims 21,800,000 (or 31 per cent. of the Hindús); Punjáb 11,700,000 (or 51 per cent.); the North-Western Provinces and Oude 6,300,000 (or 14 per cent.); the Bombay Presidency 3,700,000 (or 18 per cent.); the Madras Presidency 1,900,000 (or 6 per cent.); Assam 1,300,000 (or 27 per cent.); the State of Haiderabad 930,000 (or 9 per cent.); Rajaputana 860,000 (or 9 per cent.); and Central India 510,000 (or 6 per cent.). It will thus be seen that Islám is as strong in North India, where Hindústání is the ruling language, as it is weak in the Madras Presidency, where Tamil is the ruling language. It is also certain that more than 50 per cent. of the Muhammadans of this Presidency are found in the districts of the extreme south, namely, Tinneveli, Madura, Malabar, and Tanjore,² and that while

as meaning "intelligent, prudent" (literally, "having a heart," *lub*), and *lubbaika* as meaning "here I am, I am your servant," &c. He further says that in the *Hamasa*, p. 789, *lubbay* is used as a noun, whether substantive or proper he does not mention. Perhaps *lubbay*, when affixed to a name, means "a *pandit*, a learned man."

The "Moors" say it means "priest," but the religion of Muhammad does not admit of priests, as we understand it. It recognises *imám*, the leader at prayers; and a *khatib*, the preacher. A *maulavi* is a teacher, and *muazzin* is a crier who summons the congregation to prayers.

¹ See p. 257.

² The Muhammadans in the Madras Presidency are distributed as follows in its twenty districts:—

Malabar	...	652,000	North Arcot	...	82,000
Madura	...	141,000	Karuzal	...	82,000
Tanjore	...	112,000	Bellary	...	70,000
Cuddappah	...	98,000	Nellur	...	61,500
Tinneveli	...	90,000	Salem	...	51,000
Kistna	...	87,000	South Arcot	...	49,000
South Kanara	...	83,000	Godaveri	...	89,000

nearly all the Muhammadans of Malabar are *Mápiḷlas*, nearly all the Muhammadans in Tinneveli, Madura, and Tanjore are *Lubbays*. The figures, in round numbers, are these :—Of the 1,935,000 Muhammadans, 515,000 are Lubbays (speaking the Tamil language); 496,000 are *Mápiḷlas* (speaking the Malayálam language); and the rest are Shaiks, Sayyids, Patháns, and Mughals (speaking mostly the Hindústání language).¹

Hindústání, as is well known, is a language of modern creation, being the camp language of the motley crowd of Mughals, Patháns, Persians, and Turks, and Punjábis, Hindís, Urdús, and other native inhabitants of India, who formed the soldiers and camp followers of the Muhammadan conquerors. The Hindústání-speaking Muhammadans of the present day in India are partly the descendants of this heterogenous body through Indian mothers. The wave of Islám, it is well to bear in mind, entered through the Punjáb, gathered strength all along the North-Western Provinces, Oude, and Bengal, and only feebly touched the Madras Presidency. As to the date of the conversion and the manner in which it took place in the Punjáb, the following remarks of Mr. Ibbetson are valuable, as they throw some light into the course of conversion among the Tamil and Malayálam-speaking Muhammadans. Speaking of the Western Punjáb, Mr. Ibbetson² says:—"Farishta puts the conversion of the Afghan mountaineers of our frontier and of the Gakkhars of the Rawalpindi division at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and it is certain that the latter were still Hindús when they assassinated Mohammed Ghorí in A.D. 1206." Of the Eastern Punjáb he remarks:—"The people of these districts very generally refer their change of faith to the reign of Aurangzeb (1658–1707), and it is probable

Coimbatour	...	38,000	Vizagapatam	...	21,000
Trichnopoly	...	34,000	Ganjam	...	6,000
Chengalput	...	25,000	Nilgiris	...	3,500

City of Madras, 50,000

¹ See Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s. r. "Madras Presidency" and "Malabar."

² See Report of the Census of British India, vol. III, p. xix.

that the tradition very nearly expresses the truth. Under the Afghan dynasties, while the great provincial governors were always Muhammadans, the local administration would appear to have been in a great measure left in the hands of Hindú chiefs who paid tribute and owed allegiance to the Sultán of Delhi. It is tolerably certain that little attempt was made at proselytising under the free-thinking Akbar. It would appear, however, that during his reign and those of his immediate successors the character of the administration changed considerably—a more direct and centralised control being substituted for an almost purely feudal system. The change gave the people Musalmán governors in the place of Hindús, and must have greatly facilitated the systematic persecution of the infidel which was instituted by Aurangzeb, by far the most fanatical and bigoted, and probably the first who was a bigot, among the emperors of Delhi. The local traditions tell us that in many cases the ancestor of the present Musalmán branch of a village community adopted Islám in order to save the land of the village from confiscation.” And he continues :—“In the eastern portion of the Punjáb the faith of Islám in anything like its original purity was till quite lately to be found only among the Saiyads, Patháns, Arabs, and other Musalmáns of foreign origin, who were for the most part settled in towns. The so-called Musalmáns of the villages were Musalmáns in little but name. They practised circumcision, repeated the *kalimah*, or Muhammadan profession of faith, and worshipped the village deities. But after the mutiny (1857) a great revival took place. Muhammadan priests travelled far and wide through the country, preaching the true faith and calling upon believers to abandon their idolatrous practices. And now almost every village in which Musalmáns own any considerable portion has its mosque, often a dome only, while all the grosser and more open idolatries have been discontinued. But the villager of the East is still a very bad Musalmán. A peasant saying his prayers in the field is a sight almost unknown, the fasts are almost universally

disregarded, and there is still a very large admixture of Hindú practice." This quotation, while showing that the Musalmán religion was introduced into the Western Punjáb in the thirteenth and into the Eastern Punjáb in the seventeenth century, serves also to show that even in the premier province of Islám, the highway of all Muhammadan conquerors, its votaries are mostly converts from the Hindú races, which occupy that part of the country, without an appreciable admixture of blood with that of the foreigners. It further shows that favouring times and a succession of a few but zealous missionaries may effect in less than five, indeed two, centuries the conversion of hundreds of thousands, nay millions, of people, for the Punjáb has nearly twelve millions of Muhammadans against nearly ten millions of Hindús.

The Islám of the Mápíllas in South India has an almost similar but earlier history. The tradition among them, as reported in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*,¹ is that in A.C. 844 an Arab ship, or *bagala*, was wrecked on the island of Cháliyam formed by the Beypúr and Kadelundi rivers, and that the local Hindú ruler, whose policy was to foster trade, received kindly the thirteen Arabs who were saved, and granted them lands, whereupon other Muhammadans arrived, together with a few enthusiastic missionaries. The Mápíllas, says the same authority, are Malaiyálam converts to Islám from various castes. "A sea-faring life, trade with Arabia, and Arab missionaries, led to extensive conversion among the Malabar fishing races. At one time, after the European nations appeared in Eastern seas, conversion was largely promoted by the Zamorin of Calicut, with a view to procure seamen to defend the towns on the coast."² The reason of the conversion is correctly given in the following passage:—"Hindús found an easy refuge from their own stringent caste laws, which debarred them from sea-faring pursuits, in the open arms of Islám."³ Quilon was the principal port of Malabar

¹ Vol. VI., p. 247, and vol. II., p. 330 (1st edition).

² Vol. IX., p. 23 (2nd edition).

³ Vol. VI., p. 247 (1st edition).

which attracted traders from Arabia from the earliest times, but the Mápillas, previous to the seventh century, saw nothing in their tenets or practices worthy of acceptance or imitation, for, like themselves, the foreigners were idolatrous and exclusive. Indeed, up to the ninth century the Mápillas do not appear to have come in contact with Muhammadans. As already stated, it was only since A.C. 844 that the Arab Muhammadans who were wrecked at Cháliyam, and the missionaries who followed them, were able to offer to intending proselytes freedom from the trammels of caste, assurances of esteem, and protection and the privilege of messing together at the same board. From that time forward Quilon, called *Kollám* by the natives, and Calicut (properly *Kóli Kóddai*, "cockfort")¹ opened up to their inhabitants adventurous careers on the sea, through which alone in those days a competency was possible to those who held no lands of their own. The people had also the example of their Rája, Chérumán Perumál,² who espoused the new religion, and, giving up kingdom and family, retired to Mekka. The converts, high and low, though devoted to Islám, adhere more or less to the present day to their own native customs and speak the Malaiyálam language.

Some centuries later we observe another town full of Muhammadans risen into importance on the south-eastern sea-board of the Tamil country, some five and twenty miles below the modern Tuticorin. Its name was *Káyal-paddanam*, or "the town Káyál," which is of special interest to us, because not only has it been the principal city of the Lebbes, but the

¹ But see *Hobson Jobson*, "Quilon."

² He was a Tamil, and Viceroy of the Pándiyan king for the country along the western coast of India, from Cape Comorin to Gókarna in the South Canara District. In his day the people of Malaiyálam were Tamils, who so loved Chérumán that he had no difficulty in proclaiming his own independence. The work entitled *Keralolpatti* refers to his times. See also Mr. Logan's *Manual of Malabar*, published recently, and believed to be a work of high authority, the author having been Collector of the District for many years.

tradition there—and indeed in Ceylon—is, that a colony therefrom settled at Bérúwala, near Kalutara, which is admittedly one of the earliest centres, if not the very earliest centre, of Islám in the Island. In 1290 the condition of this town is described as follows by Marco Polo :—"Cail is a great and noble city and belongs to Ashar, the eldest of the five brother kings. It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the west, as from Hormos and from Kis (an island in the Persian Gulf), and from Aden and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in this city of Cail." ¹ Bishop Caldwell, commenting on this passage, says :—"Káyal stood originally on or near the sea-beach, but it is now about a mile and a half inland, the sand carried down by the river (Tamraparni, on which it stands) having silted up the ancient harbour and formed a waste sandy tract between the sea and the town. It has now shrunk into a petty village." Consequent upon the desertion of the sea, another town had to be founded, which bears the same name, Káyal. Dr. Caldwell observes that it is admitted by its inhabitants that the name of *Káyal-paḍḍanam* has been given to it as a reminiscence of the older city, and that its original name was *Chónakar-paḍḍanam*, or "the town of the Chónakar," which, I have said, is the name applied by the Tamils to the Mápíllas, Lebbes, and Moors, and assumed by these communities to distinguish themselves from the other religionists of Tamil India.

It appears to me that Káyal contains the keystone of the history of the Tamil Muhammadans, just as Quilon and Calicut contain that of the Malaiyálam Muhammadans. The tradition in Káyal is, that a few missionaries or teachers from Cairo landed there and made it their headquarters in the early part of the ninth century. In fact, it is said that Káyal,

¹ Col. Yule's translation, vol. II., p. 357.

or Cail, is only another form of Cairo, properly Kahira.¹ The simplicity of the new creed, especially at a time when the masses knew not whether to follow the Saivite sages or their opponents, the Vishṇuite Acháriyas, was so attractively preached that great numbers of Tamils of various castes were converted. Negapatam, Nágur, Atirámpet, and Kilakkarai soon became other centres of proselytism. In the tenth century the Chóla dynasty overthrew the neighbouring sister kingdoms of the Chéra and Páñḍiya,² and reigned paramount from the vicinity of Madras to Cape Comorin. It was doubtless subsequent to this period that the Tamil Muhammadans of South India became known as the "Chóliya Muhammadans," or more commonly *Chóliyar*, or people of the Tamil country called *Chóla-désam*. To this day the Hindústání Muhammadan speaks of his southern co-religionist as "Chóliya," for, save as to religion, the vast majority of the Chóliyar are Tamils in point of language, general appearance, and social customs, and for the following reason.

The men of Cairo, who are said to have originally settled at Káyal, could not have been very many: including priests and laymen, the proportion which they bore to the annually increasing number of native converts must have naturally diminished in an inverse ratio. In the course of a century, after the arrival of the foreigners at that town, it is perhaps too much to suppose that they could have represented even five per cent. of the proselytes. There are at the present day 164,000 Christians among the Siphalese and 82,000 among the Tamils, against 422 missionaries and ministers,

¹ Perhaps there is some truth in this tradition, seeing that in the marriage contract or *kaduttam* (properly *kaditam*, Tamil for "a paper") the *mohr* is always stipulated to be paid in "*Egyptian gold*." The same currency is referred to in the Ceylon *kaditam*.

² These three Tamil kingdoms occupied the whole of South India. The Chóla kings originally reigned north of the Kaveri, having for their capital a city near the site of the modern Trichnopoly. The capital city of the Páñḍiyans was Madura, and that of the Chéras, Karúr, in the district of Koimbatúr.

of whom only 110 are Europeans.¹ For the purpose of accounting for all this conversion, is it necessary to assume that the European ministers, or their predecessors in office, intermarried with the classes they had been converting? It might be said that the European clergy have either led a life of celibacy or come to the scene of their labours with their wives, and that the Egyptians and Arabs were situated differently. It is true that the latter had the sea-borne trade in their hands in the East previous to the advent of the Europeans, and were to be seen in almost every port of importance in India and Ceylon, but what evidence is there that, abandoning finally their own homes and their love of sea-faring life, they settled for good in South India or Ceylon in vast numbers? The mistake consists in assuming that a great proportion of the Africans, Arabians, and Persians who navigated the Indian Ocean made new homes for themselves on these shores, as if the pressure of population in their old homes was too severely felt, or the advantages of the self-imposed banishment outweighed the sorrows of parting from their country, family, and early associations. The truth, therefore, appears to be that only a small proportion of these traders domiciled themselves in South India and Ceylon, and that whatever changes have been wrought in the manners and customs of the native converts are due as much to contact with the passing traders as to the more permanent example and teaching of the smaller knot of resident foreigners. See, for instance, what vast changes have come over non-Christian Tamils and Siphalese by mere association, in the course of business, with a handful of Europeans! But change of manners and customs does not indicate change of blood. Considering that not much more than 100 Europeans have laboured in the cause of Christianity at any given period in the Island, and have made as many as 250,000 converts during three centuries, it may be concluded that the Egyptians and Arabs who settled at Káyal could not have infused

¹ Ceylon Census for 1881.

their blood among the converts to so great an extent as to materially alter their character. Small as this fusion of blood must have been in the first instance, it would grow weaker and weaker as each generation of descendants got further and further removed from the original Arab or Egyptian ancestor. Hence it is that the Chóliyas continue to be in point of language, features, physique, and social customs still Tamils in all respects except religion.

In a paper read by Sir William Hunter¹ before the Society of Arts on the *Religions of India*, he refuted the idea that "Islám in India is that of a conquering creed which set up powerful dynasties, who in their turn converted, more or less by force, the races under their sway," and pointed out that the part of Northern India which is most strongly Muhammadan is the part most remote from the great centres of Muhammadan rule. "The explanation is," he said, "that in Northern India Islám found itself hemmed in by strongly organised forms of Hindúism of a high type, on which it could make but slight impression. Indeed, Hindúism here re-acted so powerfully on Islám that the greatest of the Mughal sovereigns, Akbar, formally renounced the creed of the Prophet and promulgated a new religion for the empire constructed out of the rival faiths." He then described the process of conversion as follows: the Muhammadan missionaries and adventurers penetrated into outlying districts far removed from the influence of the higher forms of Hindúism, and preached there to the masses who were socially of low standing. And he continues:—"To these poor people, fishermen, hunters, pirates, and low-caste tillers of the soil, whom Hindúism had barely admitted within its pale, Islám came as a revelation from on high. It was the creed of the governing race; its missionaries were men of zeal, who brought the Gospel of the unity of God and the equality of man in its sight to a despised and neglected population.

¹ On February 24, 1888.

The initiatory rite rendered relapse impossible, and made the proselyte and his posterity true believers for ever."

In the early part of this Paper¹ I said that about one-half of the number of those whom the Ceylon Census returned as Moors were "Coast Moors," that is, "Chóliyas," or, as the English call them, "Lubbays." In the District of Batticaloa, which is the premier district of Islám in the Island, the Muhammadans call themselves "Sóni," or "Chóni," which appears to be only another form of Chóli. Indeed, Mr. Pybus, who was accredited in 1762 by the Government of Madras to the court of the King of Kandy, speaks of the inhabitants of the Eastern Province, where he landed, as "Choliyars and Malabars." He evidently believed that *all* those whom we call Moors were "Chóliya," for he says:—"Such trade as the Island affords (exclusive, I mean, of what the Dutch reserve to themselves) is carried on by Choliyars, of whom there are great numbers at all the principal settlements belonging to the Dutch and along the sea-coast; many at Candia and others interspersed in villages in different parts of the country."²

We are now in a position to deal with the question whether the "Ceylon Moors" have a history different from that of the "Chóliyas" ("Lebbes," "Coast Moors") which I have just outlined. In the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* Sir Alexander Johnston says:—"The first Muhammadans who settled in Ceylon were, according to the tradition which prevails among their descendants, a portion of those Arabs of the house of Hashim who were driven from Arabia in the early part of the eighth century by the tyranny of the Caliph Abd-al-melek Ben Merwan, and who, proceeding from the Euphrates southward, made settlements in the Concan, in the southern parts of the peninsula of India, on the Island of Ceylon, and at Malacca. The division of them which came to Ceylon formed eight considerable settlements

¹ See p. 241.

² *Mission to the King of Kandy*, pp. 36 and 41.

along the north-east, north, and western coasts of that Island, viz., one at Trincomalee, one at Jaffna, one at Mantota and Mannár, one at Coodramalé, one at Puttalam, one at Colombo, one at Barbaryn, and one at Point-de-Galle.”¹

It is difficult to conceive an array of *bagalas* sailing together in those early ages for over two thousand miles on the fitful Indian Ocean, and making for the different ports above-mentioned in different parts of the Island, as if there were agents in those places appointed to receive the unfortunate men. But a grander difficulty exists. The Arab exiles were, or were not, accompanied by their wives and daughters. If they were so accompanied and settled with them in purely Siphalese districts like Kalutara and Galle, why did they abandon both the Arabic and Siphalese and take to the Tamil? Or, if they came to Ceylon without their women and took Siphalese wives, why has the same survival of the Tamil language occurred? It is impossible to accept this version of wholesale Arab colonisation. It is too elaborate and inexplicable. But the crowning absurdity of the tradition remains yet to be mentioned. Hashim, the son of Abdul Manif, was the father of Abdul Muttalib, who was the father of Abdullah, and grandfather of Muhammad the Prophet. In so great veneration is the memory of Hashim held by the Arabs, that among them the family of Muhammad are called Hashimites, as Mr. Keene says in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*: consequently, the Ceylon Moors would all be Sayyids!—which they are not, and do not profess to be, being only Sunnis of the Sháfá’í sect. Sir Emerson Tennent discredits the story for other reasons. He observes:—“The Moors, who were the informants of Sir Alexander Johnston, probably spoke on the equivocal authority of the *Tolífut-ul mujahideen*, which is generally, but erroneously, described as a narrative of the settlement of the Muhammadans in Malabar. Its second chapter gives an account of the manner in which the Muhammadan religion was first propagated

¹ Vol. I., p. 538.

there, and states that its earliest apostles were a Sheik and his companions who touched at Cranganore about A.C. 822, when on their journey as pilgrims to the sacred footprint on Adam's Peak."¹ The tradition reported by Sir Alexander Johnston may be a wild exaggeration of that mentioned in the *Tolufut-ul Mujahidin*, or of that which prevails among the Mápillas, to the effect that their conversion was due to the Arab mariners who were wrecked off Beypur in A.C. 844. At any rate, there is a tradition in Ceylon, which is referred to by Casie Chetty² (and, so far as the circumstances, but not the years, are concerned, is not at all improbable), that the ancestors of the "Ceylon Moors" formed their first settlement in Káyal-paḍḍanam in the ninth century, and that many years afterwards, in the 402nd year of the Hijra, corresponding to A.C. 1024, a colony from that town migrated and settled at Barberyn (Béruwala), I have already called attention to the belief current in South India that Béruwala is a colony of Káyal.

The discrepancy between the dates of colonisation given in the tradition reported by Casie Chetty and that reported by Sir Alexander Johnston is irreconcilable, as the one refers to the early part of the ninth century and the other to the early part of the eleventh century. In this state of conflict we naturally turn to the history and literature of the Siḥhalese for some light. The *Mahāvamsa* makes no mention whatever of the Moors (*Yonnu*, *Marakkulayó*); but the *Rājāvuliya*³ records that a great number of them arrived in 1505 from Káyal-paḍḍanam, and attempted to settle by force at Chilaw, and were beaten back by Dharmma Parákrama Báhu. An earlier reference is contained in the *Paravi Sandésa* ("Pigeon Message"), a poem written by Totagamuwé Ráhula Sthaviro, and addressed to the god Vishṇu at Devundra (Dondra) Déválé. The pigeon is made to start from Jayawardhana Kótté (the modern Cotta near Colombo), where

¹ Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol. I., p. 680, note (1). ² *Ceylon Gazetteer*, p. 254.

³ Upham's translation, p. 274.

Srī Parākrama Báhu (1410-61) was then ruling, and to fly along several villages to Dondra, carrying the prayer that that monarch might be preserved and blessed. One of the villages on the route is Bérúwala, which is described to be in the occupation of "cruel and lawless Bamburas" (scil. *mléchchas*, "barbarians"). Another poem, the *Kókila Sandésa*, written by Irugal Kulatilaka Sámi, in the same reign, alludes to Bérúwala in similar language. I have not had time to get at earlier references in Sinhalese literature, but I suspect none such exist. We have, however, some information from foreign sources. In 1350 John de Marignolli was wrecked on the coast of Ceylon at "Perivilis," which is supposed to be Bérúwala. "Here," he says, "a certain tyrant, by name Coya Jaan, an eunuch, had the mastery in opposition to the lawful king. He was an accursed Saracen," i.e., Muhammadan. We are also told that by means of his great treasures he had gained possession of this part of the country. He robbed De Marignolli of the valuable gifts he was carrying home to the Pope.¹ Ibn Batúta visited the Island six years earlier (in 1344), but makes no mention whatever of Bérúwala, though it lay directly on his route from Galle to Colombo. He refers to Galle as a small town, to Colombo as the seat of a pirate in command of five hundred Abyssinnians, and to Battalah (Puttalam) as the capital of a Tamil king, Arya Chakkaravaritti, "one of the perverse and unjust," as the devout traveller says, but of whose hospitality he is loud in praise.²

By the light of these passages, and the circumstance that the Sinhalese did not know in the early part of the fifteenth century any more of the colonists who were found settled at Bérúwala than that they were barbarians, we may safely conclude that Bérúwala had not been seized upon by the Muhammadans in 1344; that that hamlet, Galle, and Puttalam, which are commonly believed to have received the

¹ Yule's *Cathay*, p. 357.

² *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, vol. VII., p. 56, of the extra number.

earliest Muhammadan settlements, did not contain any such colonies at that period ; and that, though Arabs, Egyptians, Abyssinians, and other Africans may have constantly come to and gone from Ceylon, as merchants, soldiers, and tourists, long before the fourteenth century, comparatively few of them domiciled themselves in the Island ; and that the settlement at Béruwala, which the Ceylon Muhammadans generally admit to be the first of all their settlements, took place not earlier than the fourteenth century, say A.C. 1350. We may also safely conclude that this colony was an offshoot of Káyal-paḍḍanam, and that the emigrants consisted largely of a rough and ready set of bold Tamil converts, determined to make themselves comfortable by the methods usual among unscrupulous adventurers. Having clean shaven heads and straggling beards ; wearing a costume which was not wholly Tamil, nor yet Arabic or African even in part ; speaking a low Tamil interlarded with Arabic expressions ; slaughtering cattle with their own hands and eating them ; given to predatory habits, and practising after their own fashion the rights of the Muhammadan faith ;—they must indeed have struck the Sinhalese at first as a strange people deserving of the epithet “barbarians.” It is only natural that other colonies should have gone forth from Káyal-paḍḍanam, and not only added to the population of Béruwala, but settled at other places, such as Batticaloa, Puttalam, &c. With the advent of the Europeans, communication with “the fatherland of the Chónahar” (as Káyal is known) and Ceylon grew feeble, and during the time of the Dutch must have practically ceased, because the Muhammadan settlers, from their obstinate refusal to become Christians, became objects of persecution to the Hollanders, who imposed all manner of taxes and disqualifications on them. The distinction which the “Ceylon Moor” draws between himself and the “Coast Moor” (*Chammankáran*) is evidently the result of the cessation of intercourse thus produced and continued for several decades between the mother-country and her colonies.

Having thus shown that the history of the Moors of

Ceylon, no less than the language they speak, proves them to be Tamils, it remains to consider their social customs and physical features. But I do not propose to dwell at length on these points, not only because they are apparent to most of us who reside in the Island, and this Paper has far exceeded the limits I set upon it, but also because, in January last, when Mr. Bawa's Paper on the Marriage Customs of the Moors of Ceylon was read, I pointed out what the requirements of a marriage were according to the law of the Prophet, but how different were the rites and customs practised by the Moors, and how many of those customs, such as the *stridhanam* (independent of the *mohr*), the *álátti* ceremony, the bridegroom wearing jewels though prohibited by the law, the tying of the *táli*, the bride wearing the *kúrai* offered by the bridegroom, and the eating of the *pañchóru*, were all borrowed from the Tamils. I also commented on other customs, such as the absence of the *purdah* system (or rigid seclusion of women), and of prayer in the streets and other public places, both of which customs are foreign to Tamils, but germane to Egyptians and many clans of Arabs.

I shall therefore pass on to their physical features. Of these, the best marked race-characters, according to Dr. Tylor,¹ are the colour of the skin, structure and arrangement of the hair, contour of the face, stature, and conformation of the skull. On all these points there is, in my opinion, no appreciable difference between the average Tamil and the average Moor. If he were dressed up like a Tamil he would pass easily for a Tamil, and *vice versâ*. As regards cranial measurements, I would add that in a famous trial for murder (known as "the Chetty street murder case"), in which I appeared in 1884 as counsel, I had to be in consultation with three of our leading doctors of medicine and surgery (having large experience of the country and its people)² on the question whether the skull produced

¹ Art. "Anthropology" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, p. 111.

² Dr. J. L. Vanderstraaten, M.D.; Surgeon-Major L. A. White, M.R.C.S.; and Dr. W. G. Vandort, M.D., C.M.

in the case was the skull of a Tamil or not, and they were unanimously of opinion that it might be as much the skull of a Moorman or a Siphalese as of a Tamil: so difficult would it be to distinguish between the skulls of the three sections of our community! The results of Prof. R. Virchow's inquiry into the physical anthropology of the races of Ceylon, as contained in his Paper on the Vēddās of Ceylon and their relation to the neighbouring Tribes,¹ are unfortunately of little value from his want of local knowledge, which prevents him from discriminating between the right and the wrong information given by the writers on Ceylon whom he quotes, and from his candid admission that the skulls submitted to him were too few, if not of doubtful identity. Commenting upon the Moorish skull, for instance, he says:—"So far as I can learn, there is only one skull of a Moor in Europe It is accordingly orthodolichocephalic and chamæprosopic. A further comparison is scarcely desirable, because from a single skull no judgment can be formed as to whether it is really typical of the race."² And he mentions that, until of late only a single Tamil skull was known in Europe, and that his conclusions are based upon an examination of this skull and of three others forwarded to him as Tamil skulls from Colombo. Besides the question of the identity of these skulls, it appears to me that four cannot be taken to be typical of the Tamil race. As the upper classes of Tamils cremate their bodies, a legitimate comparison with the other races, class for class, would be always a matter of difficulty.

I do not feel myself free to conclude this Paper without making a few remarks on the name by which the "Ceylon Moors" and the "Coast Moors" (Lebbes, Chóliyar, Chammápkárar) are known among the native races of India and Ceylon in the midst of whom they live. The Siphalese call them *Yonnú* and the Tamils *Chónahar*. It is supposed by those few of the Moors who would (like the Mauri of old,

¹ *R. A. S. Journal, Ceylon Branch*, vol. ix., pp. 350-495.

² *R. A. S. Journal, Ceylon Branch*, vol. ix., p. 451.

described by Gibbon) "adopt the language, name, and origin of Arabs, that this very name of *Yonnū* or *Chōṇahar* is evidence of the origin of the Moors from Arabia," because Arabia in Sanskrit is *Yavana*, in Pāli *Yonna*, and in Tamil *Chōṇaham* or *Sōṇaham*.

The descent of *Yonna* from *Yavana* must be conceded on the analogy of *lona*, Pāli for salt, being derived from the Sanskrit *lavana*; but it may be contended that *Chōṇahar* with a long *o* cannot be traced as clearly from the Sanskrit. A more direct derivation, it has been pointed out to me by the Rev. Father Corbet, is from the Arabic *shūna*, "a ship of war," and *shuna* could easily have become *shona* through the Hindústānī, which often tends to change the long *u* into *o*. If this be so, *Chōṇahar* (in which *har* would represent the Tamil plural form) would mean warlike people. Father Beschi, in his Tamil Dictionary, says that the name is a corruption of "Chōḷa-nahara people." Mr. C. Brito¹ thinks it is derived from *sunni*, as the bulk of the Moors are Sunnis of the Shāfā'ī sect.

But even if we accept the position that *Chōṇahar* is derived from *Yavana*, it does not at all follow that the Moors are Arabs, for the long and shifting history of the *Yavanas* in India, which is now well known, points to a different conclusion. They are mentioned in the *Mahā Bhārata* with the Sakas (Scythians), Pahlavas (Persians), Kambojas, &c., to denote warlike races outside the limits of India, and differing from the Indians in religious faith and customs. The term *Yavana*² having been identified with Ionia, Dr. Hunter has shown in his delightful work on *Orissa*³ how the Ionians "at once the most Asiatic and the most mobile of the Greek colonists in Asia Minor," came to be confounded by the Persians as early as B.C. 650, and through them by the Indians, with the

¹ *Yalpāna Vaipava Mālai*, Appendix, p. 82.

² Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra identifies *yavana* with Sans. *yuvan*, Lat. *iuvenis*, as indicating the "youthful" or new race of Asiatic Greeks. See *Indo-Aryans*, vol. II., p. 177.

³ Vol. I.

whole Greek race. After Alexander the Great's expedition to India at the close of the fourth century B.C., the term *Yavana* was applied in Indian literature to the Greeks. In the rock inscriptions of Aśoka, for instance, Antiochus, the Greek king, whose eastern dominions covered great portions of western Asia, is referred to as "Antiocho, the Yona king" (B.C. 250); and Patanjali (B.C. 130) records "that the Yavanas eat lying down." Since the invasions of Alexander and Seleucus, the Ionians had established themselves beyond the Indus, and even gone as far as Oude, for the Sanskrit grammarian just mentioned records that the Yavanas laid siege to that city. They then pushed their way to the Buddhist kingdom of Magadha, and advanced into Orissa as Buddhists, where they founded a Yavana dynasty. Being expelled therefrom in A.C. 473, they moved southwards, overthrew the Andhra kingdom, the capital of which was Warangul (half-way between the Godaveri and Haiderabad), and ruled in that part of the country till A.C. 963, when their downfall occurred amidst a great religious revival which ended in the overthrow of Buddhism and the re-establishment of the Saiva faith. From this period the Ionians disappear from Indian history, being most probably absorbed by the war and persecution which characterised the times. But the name Yavana survived as meaning *a people who came from the north and brought in new religious rites*. "These," says Sir William Hunter, "were the two crucial characteristics of Yavanas in the Hindú mind, and in the end they led to the transfer of the name to a people more widely separated by race and religion from the Ionians than the Ionians from the Hindú. For the north was again about to send forth a race of invaders bringing with them a new faith, and destined to establish themselves upon the wrecks of native dynasties and native beliefs. The Musalmán invasions of India practically date from the eighth century, when the Arabs temporarily conquered Sindh. The first years of the eleventh century brought the terrible Máhmud Sultan, whose twelve expeditions introduced a new era into

Hindústan. From this time it becomes difficult to pronounce as to the race to which the term Yavana applies. At first, indeed, the Musalman invaders, especially in Southern India, were distinguished from the dynasties of Ionian Yavanas by the more opprobrious epithet of *Mlechchas*. But as Islam obtained firmer hold upon the country, this distinction disappeared; and popular speech, preserving the old association of northern invasion and a new creed with the word Yavana, applied it indiscriminately to the ancient Ionians and to the new Musalmans. Before the Muhammadan power, the heretic and the orthodox dynasties of India alike collapsed, and in a few centuries the ancient Yavanas had ceased to preserve any trace of their nationality. All former differences of race or creed were pulverised in the mortar of Islam, and the word Yavana grew into an exclusive epithet of the Musalmans." Prof. Weber has emphasised these views in his *History of the Indian Literature*,¹ and proves conclusively that the Arabs and other Muslims were the last to receive the name of Yavanas. From the ninth to the fourteenth centuries the Muhammadans in South India were known as *Mlechchás*, or "barbarians," just as the Siphalese knew them in Ceylon in those ages as *Bamburó*. In later days they knew them as *Yonno*, while the Tamils learnt to use the word *Chónahar*.

To sum up. It has been shown that the 185,000 Moors in the Island fall under two classes, "Coast Moors" and "Ceylon Moors," in almost equal numbers; that the "Coast Moors" are those Muhammadans who, having arrived from the Coromandel coast or inner districts of South India as traders or labourers, continue steadily to maintain relations of amity and intermarriage with their friends in South India; and that such "Coast Moors" are Tamils.

As regards the nationality of the "Ceylon Moors," numbering about 92,500 out of the 185,000, we have ample reasons for concluding that they too are Tamils,—I mean the masses of them; for, of course, we meet with a few families here and

¹ Page 220, note.

there—say, five per cent. of the community, or about 5,000 out of the 92,500—who bear the impress of an Arab or other foreign descent. Even the small *coterie* of the Ceylon Moors, who claim for themselves and their co-religionists an Arab descent, candidly admit that on the mother's side the Ceylon Moors are exclusively Tamil. All that remains to be proved, therefore, is, that their early male ancestors were mainly Tamils. For this purpose I have sketched the history of the Ceylon Moors. I have shown the utter worthlessness of a tradition among them that a great colony of Arabs of the house of Hashim made settlements at Bérúwala and other parts of the Island, and have adduced reasons for accepting as far more probable the tradition reported by Mr. Casie Chetty, that the original ancestors of the Ceylon Moors formed their first settlement at Káyal-paḍḍanam, and that many years afterwards a colony from that town—"the fatherland of the Chonagar"—migrated and settled at Bérúwala. I have further shown how similar the history of the Ceylon Moors is to that of the Coast Moors; how intimately connected they were with each other till the Dutch began to persecute them in Ceylon; how the intercourse between the mother-country in South India and Ceylon was arrested about 150 years ago; and how the distinction arose thereafter between the Ceylon Moors and the Coast Moors. By tracing in this manner their history, that is, their descent, I arrive at the conclusion that the early ancestors of the "Moors," Ceylon and Coast, were mainly Tamils on the father's side, as admittedly they are exclusively on the mother's side.

Then, considering their social customs, I have pointed out how closely they are a copy of Tamil institutions. I have also touched upon their physical features and called attention to the opinion of some of our leading doctors of medicine and surgery, that the skull of a Moorman cannot be distinguished from that of a Tamil. In complete confirmation of the inference drawn from these arguments is the evidence afforded by language. The vernacular language of the Moors is, as I have said, Tamil, even in purely Siphaleso districts.

What diversities of creed, custom, and facial features prevail among the low-country Siphalese and the Kandyan Siphalese, between Tamils of the Brahmin or Vellala castes and of the Paraya caste! And yet do they not pass respectively as Siphalese and Tamils, for the simple reason that they speak as their mother-tongue those languages? Language in Oriental countries is considered the most important part of nationality, outweighing differences of religion, institutions, and physical characteristics. Otherwise each caste would pass for a race. Dr. Freeman's contention, that "community of language is not only presumptive evidence of the community of blood, but is also proof of something which for *practical purposes is the same as* community of blood,"¹ ought to apply to the case of the Ceylon Moors. But, of course, in their case it is not language only that stamps them as Tamils. Taking (1) the language they speak at home in connection with (2) their history, (3) their customs and (4) physical features, the proof cumulatively leads to no other conclusion than that the Moors of Ceylon are ethnologically Tamils.²

¹ Art. on Race and Language, *Contemp. Review*, p. 739, March, 1877.

² Besides our Dutch rulers, who believed that the Moors were only Tamil Muhammadans, other authorities, who have mixed and moved with the people of Ceylon and taken pains to study them, may be cited: such as the Rev. James Cordiner, whose duties as Director of all Schools in Ceylon during the administration of Governor North, 1798-1805, afforded him great opportunities of collecting information and judging on all matters connected with the sociology of the Island. At p. 139 of his work on Ceylon he declares that the Moors are Tamils by race.

I would mention also the name of Mr. Simon Casie Chetty, who was a Member of the Legislative Council of Ceylon for some years since 1838, and whose opinions are recorded in his *Gazetteer*.

The editors of the *Ceylon Observer*, in their issue of December 10, 1885, said, "We believe that fully 80 per cent. of the Muhammadans of Ceylon are Tamils."

And Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G., who has lived and laboured in Ceylon for over fifty years, speaking at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, held on January 26, 1888, observed, in reference to the Paper read on that day, as follows:—"The obvious reason why the marriage customs of the Muhammadans were mainly Tamil was due to the fact, that most of the proselytes made by Muhammadans in South India and Ceylon were from the Tamil race."

CAPTAIN JOÃO RIBEIRO:
HIS WORK ON CEYLON, AND THE FRENCH
TRANSLATION THEREOF BY THE
ABBÉ LE GRAND.

By DONALD FERGUSON, Esq.

(Read July 26, 1888.)



IN the early part of the year 1701 there appeared at Trevoux in France a small volume with the following title:—"Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylan. Ecrite par le Capitaine Jean Ribeyro, & présentée au Roy de Portugal en 1685. Traduite du Portugais en François. A Trevoux, chez Estienne Ganeau, Directeur de l'Imprimerie de S. A. S. Monseigneur Prince Souverain de Dombes. Avec Approbation & Privilege. M. DCCI." Almost simultaneously the same book was issued in Paris, the first part of the title being identical with the above, and the latter part reading thus:—"A Trevoux, & se vend, a Paris, chez Jean Boudot, Libraire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, rue S. Jacques, au Soleil d'or. M. DCCI. Avec Approbation & Privilege." The name of the translator is not given, the epistle dedicatory being signed simply with the initials J. L. G. However, in the same year 1701 there was published at Amsterdam a reprint of the above book, with the following title:—"Histoire . . . en 1685. Traduite du Portugais par Monsr. l'Abbé Le Grand. Enrichie de Figures en Taille-douce. Suivant la Copie de Trevoux, A Amsterdam, Chez J. L. de Lorme, Libraire. M. DCCI." Regarding the Abbé le Grand, we learn the following facts from the memoir of him by Père Bougerel in Nicéron's "Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres," t. 26, and the "Biographie Universelle," t. 25.

Joachim le Grand was born at St. Lô, in the diocese of Coutances, in Normandy, on February 6, 1653, his parents being Gilles le Grand and Marie Violet. After his first studies he went to Caen to study philosophy under the celebrated Pierre Cally. He had as a fellow-student Pierre François de la Tour, who was afterwards General of the Oratory. The friendship which they then formed terminated only with their lives. Following the example of his friend, he entered the Oratory in 1671, and whilst he remained there he studied belles lettres and theology. He left this in 1676 and went to Paris, where he was constantly with the Père le Cointe, who was engaged on the "Ecclesiastical Annals of France." This learned man finding in the Abbé le Grand an accurate memory, a fine judgment, a marvellous sagacity for the discussion of facts, and a great love of truth and of work, qualities and talents necessary for success in history, did not hesitate to persuade him to give his whole time to this subject. He did more: he was willing himself to be his guide in a career so vast and so difficult. With such help he acquired a wide acquaintance with ancient titles and maps, an acquaintance which he largely perfected in the Royal Library by the liberty which M. Thevenot, who had charge thereof, gave him. He undertook successively the tuition of the Marquis de Vins and the Duc d'Estrées. Meeting Dr. Burnet in Paris, he engaged in a controversy with him on the subject of the latter's "History of the Reformation," publishing his opinions in a work issued in Paris in 1688 in three volumes, 12mo. The Abbé d'Estrées having, in February, 1692, been appointed Ambassador to Portugal, chose the Abbé le Grand as Secretary to the Embassy, and he went to Lisbon in April. As the negotiations between France and Portugal did not proceed very rapidly, the Abbé le Grand profited by his leisure, and collected memoirs or relations concerning the vast territories regarded by the Portuguese as their conquests. He resided in Portugal until August, 1697, and on his return to France he commenced to collect

material for a history of Louis XI. In 1701 he printed at Trevoux, in 12mo., "L'Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylan du Capitaine Jean Ribeyro," which he translated from the Portuguese. He had found this work at Lisbon in the possession of Dom João Luis d'Acunha. He did not content himself with a simple translation, but augmented this history by several chapters, under the name of "Additions," which he derived from various manuscripts which were communicated to him by the Marquis de Fontes, the Comte d'Ericeyra, and many others. In 1702 he returned to Spain with the Abbé d'Estrées, and there developed his rare talent for negotiations. On his return he was nominated Secretary of the *Pairie*, and while holding this post published several memoirs on the Spanish succession. In 1720 he was commissioned to draw up an inventory of the collection of maps; and he also finished his life of Louis XI., but this work was not published. Towards the end of his life he retired to Savigny, to the château of the Marquis de Vins, his former pupil; but this nobleman having been cut off prematurely, the Abbé le Grand returned to Paris, where he died some months later of apoplexy, on April 30, 1733, in his eighty-first year.

Le Grand's translation was utilised to some extent in the form of additions to Knox's account of Ceylon, as reprinted in Harris's "Voyages," 1705 (vol. II., pp. 450-84), but not, so far as I know, by other writers of the last century.

A little over a hundred years after the death of Le Grand, viz., in 1836, the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon issued volume V. of the "Collecção de Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas, que vivem nos Dominios Portuguezes ou lhes são visinhas," the first part of which volume contained "Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilão, Dedicada á Magestade do Serenissimo D. Pedro II. Rei de Portugal Nosso Senhor. Escrita pelo Capitão João Ribeiro." To this is prefixed the following note:—"Extract from the minutes of the proceedings of the Royal Academy of Sciences at the sitting of 15 October, 1835. The Royal Academy of

Sciences resolves, that the manuscript intituled *Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilão, escrita pelo Capitão João Ribeiro*, which manuscript was offered to it by its member D. Francisco de S. Luiz, Secretary of the Academy, on 23 November, 1835, be printed, at its expense and under its authority, in the *Collecção de Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas*. Francisco Elias Rodrigues da Silveira, Vice-Secretary of the Academy."

Finally, in 1847, there issued from the Ceylon Government Press at Colombo a translation by Mr. George Lee, Postmaster-General of the Colony, of Le Grand's book, with an appendix, containing many valuable papers by different writers "illustrative of the past and present condition of the Island." Mr. Lee was unaware of the publication eleven years previously of Ribeiro's work in the original Portuguese, for he says in his preface:—"I doubt whether Ribeyro's History was ever published in the Portuguese language; it appears to have been procured, with other public memoirs, by the Abbè le Grand, in Portugal, through the kindness of the Dowager-Countess d'Ericeyra, the lady to whom he dedicates his translation, and whom he mentions as being descended from the illustrious house of Menesez, of which two members had been Governors of Ceylon." But, stranger still, Sir Emerson Tennent, in the first edition of his work on Ceylon, fell into the same error, though he corrected it in the second and later editions (see vol. II., p. 4, note 6).

Returning now to the Portuguese edition of 1836, we find in it the following prefatory note by the editors:—

"The MS. entitled *Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilão*, which was offered to the Academy by one of its members, and which it now publishes, must be considered as the original; for, though not written in the handwriting of the author, yet it has at the end of the dedication his autograph signature; and from this circumstance, as well as from others, this appears to have been the very copy that was offered to the King D. Pedro II., in 1685.

"The author (as he himself says in the Prologue) divides his work into three books. In the first he shows what

Ceylon is, and the right of our Kings to that rich and precious isle. This book consists of 24 chapters, and has at the end the map of the Island. In the second he treats of the progress of the war which we carried on in Ceylon with the natives and afterwards with the Dutch: it consists of 27 chapters. In the third he seeks to show the mistakes that were made in the conquest of India, and is of opinion that we should simply have taken and peopled Ceylon: this consists of 10 chapters.

"From this it would seem that the laborious and praiseworthy Barbosa Machado had not an exact acquaintance with this work; for, speaking of it in the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, he says that it consists of two parts, and that the first has 24 chapters and the second 10, which does not conform to the truth.

"As to the author himself, neither does Barbosa give us any information, except his name, nor have we met with any elsewhere. From a perusal of his work we learn:—

"That João Ribeiro, having gone to India with the Viceroy Conde de Aveiras João da Silva Tello, arrived in those dominions in September, 1640. (Bk. II., chap. VIII.)

"That in October of the same year, being then 14 years old, he was sent to Ceylon with 400 other soldiers, when the Captain-General of the Island was D. Filipe Mascarenhas. (Bk. II., chap. VIII.)

"That he served the King forty and a half years, from March, 1640, to October, 1680, when he returned to Lisbon, nineteen and a half years of that service having been passed in India and eighteen years in Ceylon. (Dedication and Bk. III., chap. IX.)

"That in 1658, Jafanapatam having been taken by the Hollanders, Captain João Ribeiro was sent, with other prisoners of war, to Batavia, and there thrown into prison. (Bk. II., chap. XXVII.)

"Of his good service, and of the zeal and affection of which he deemed the honour, the glory, and the interests of Portugal worthy, we have frequent evidences throughout the whole work, and in the reflections in which the author now and again indulges.

"The work of Captain João Ribeiro has suffered the same fate as, through our negligence, has befallen many other works of Portuguese writers, which, not having gained the attention of the authors' fellow-countrymen, come into the hands of strangers, not simply to be translated and published by them, with some discredit to us and to our spirit of inquiry and literary energy (which would be a lesser evil), but to be so altered, mutilated, and maimed by unfaithful and sometimes inapt translations, as to be discreditable alike to the translator and to the author himself.

"This work with which we are dealing was translated into French by M. le Grand ; it was printed at Paris, Trevoux, and Amsterdam, in the year 1701, in 8vo., and was noticed in the *Journal des Sçavans* of May 30 and the *Memoires de Trevoux* of March and April of the same year.

"In both these journals it is stated, and M. le Grand himself confesses, that he did not confine himself to translating the work of Ribeiro, but that he augmented it by many chapters under the name of *Additions*.

"We should certainly be much indebted to M. le Grand if this were the only liberty taken by him and carried out with reference to his original ; but he has done much more, viz., (1) he has omitted whole chapters, as may be seen, for example, in Book II., which in the original has 27 chapters and in the translation 23 ; and in Book III., which, consisting in the original of 10 chapters, has only 2, and these very short, in the translation ; (2) he has altered, at his pleasure, the order of the narrative and the distribution of the materials of the chapters, omitting many things which appeared to him either superfluous or of minor importance ; (3) he has shown (what is most material) that in many and frequent passages he has not understood the original Portuguese, with which language he appears not to have been well acquainted.

"Of this last accusation, which may perhaps be considered the most serious, we feel bound to give some proofs, that it may be seen that we do not impute to M. le Grand errors or defects that he has not allowed to be printed in his so-called translation.

"In Book I., chap. III., near the end, the author says that 'from the kingdom of Cotta were brought every year some thousand *champanas* (which are like *sumacas* of forty tons) of areca.' The translator says that every year there were brought from the kingdom of Cotta 'more than a thousand boats, each one of sixty tons, of a certain sand [*d'un certain sable*] which is much used throughout all the Indies.'

"In chap. XIII. of the same Book I. Ribeiro says 'that the soldier, captain, or commander who had married, and wished the same day to retire from the service of the King, might do so, such being the practice.' M. le Grand says that 'the soldiers and officers could quit the service when they wished, so long as they did not desert.'

"In the same Book I., chap. XXI., the author, speaking of the pepper of Ceylon and of the great value attached to it, reflects, that as the Chingalas have no eyes for this fruit, except to pay their dues to their lords, 'they gather it fully ripe, and generally the greater part is allowed to ripen on the trees,' &c. The translator says, however, that the pepper of Ceylon sells at a higher price than that of other places,

and that it appears to him that what contributes most to its goodness is that the Chingalas 'gather it before it is perfectly ripe.'

"In Book I., chap. XXII., Ribeiro says that 'the diver, as soon as he rises [from the bottom of the sea] to the *champana*, is at liberty, until he who is at the bottom of the sea ascends, to open with a knife as many oysters as he can, and whatever he finds therein is his.' The translator says that 'if the diver, during the time that he is below the water, can open an oyster and finds a pearl, it is his.'

"We omit many other passages, and do not notice frequent less serious errors, as, for example, *Villa-ponça* for *Villa-pouca*, *Conde de Aveiro* for *Conde de Aveiras*, *Francisco de Asiloca*¹ for *Francisco da Silva*, *fifteen hundred* (*quinze cens*) for *five hundred*, &c.

"What has been said is more than enough to show that we have not yet, at least, a translation of the work of João Ribeiro, and that the Academy has done a real service, both to literature in general and specially to Portuguese literature, in publishing the work of a writer who, beside the truth and sincerity which are evident in his manner of writing, relates what he saw, observed, and heard from the natives of Ceylon during the 16 [*sic*] years that he lived there, regarding the natural products of the Island; the customs, rites, religious opinions, and civil life of its inhabitants; the form of its government; the possessions which we had there; the rights which our Kings obtained there; and finally, the manner and means by which we lost the Island, and it passed into the power of the Hollanders, &c."

The reference to Ribeiro's work made by Diogo Barbosa Machado (*Bibl. Lusit.*, 1747, vol. II., p. 734) mentioned above is as follows:—"Ioaõ Ribeyro, Captain in the Island of Ceylon, which he described as an eyewitness in a clear and truthful style in the year 1685. *Fatalidade*, &c. MS., 4to. It consists of 2 parts; the first has 24 chapters and the second 10. It is preserved in the Library of his Excy. the Conde de Castellomilhor. It was translated into French by Monsieur le Grand under the following title: *Histoire* . . . Paris, 1701. *Trevoux*, 1701."

Barbosa Machado has also (vol. II., p. 68) the following entry:—"Filippe Botelho, Priest, and native of the Island of

¹ This is hardly fair, for Le Grand corrected the error in his Errata.—D.F.

Ceylon, son of Portuguese fathers, composed with the highest individuality and exactness *Relação das guerras de Uva*, which was preserved in his choice Library by his Excy. the Marquis de Abrantes D. Rodrigo Annes de Sâ e Almeyda, who communicated it to Monsieur Legrand, who translated it into French, and it was printed, together with the *Historia de Ceilaç*, composed by João Rebeiro, also translated into French. Trevoux, &c."

How an error, once perpetrated, is liable to be perpetuated, may be judged from the following extract from the *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez* of Innocencio Francisco da Silva, 1860, vol. IV., p. 25 :—"João Ribeiro, soldier in India, and Captain in the island of Ceylon, the events of which he described in the year 1685 as an eye-witness: *Fatalidade historica da ilha de Ceylão. Dedicada á magestade do serenissimo D. Pedro II., rei de Portugal*.—The original Portuguese of this work, consisting of two parts, the first with 24 chapters and the second with 10, remained for many years in manuscript, and was only printed for the first time in vol. V. of the *Collecção de Noticias para a historia e geographia das Nações Ultramarinas*, published by the Royal Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, 1836. It was, however, translated into French by M. Legrand, a few years after it was written, and appeared in print under the title of *Histoire de l'île de Ceylan, par Jean Ribeyro, &c.*, together with the translation which the same Legrand made of the *Relação das guerras de Uva* by Filippe Botelho, Trevoux, chez Estienne Ganeau, 1701, 12mo. The Commander F. J. M. de Brito had copies of both, as appears from the catalogue of his library, quoted already several times."

It is strange that, while confessedly so little is known of Captain Ribeiro, the editors of the MS. should be able to pronounce with such assurance upon his signature, &c. But let that pass. It will be seen that the editors make very strong charges against the Abbé le Grand, of not only mis-translating the original Portuguese, but mutilating the work by leaving out passages and even whole chapters. Now,

happily, I am able to clear the character of the reverend translator to some extent, though not entirely; and that in a rather curious way. After the death of the late lamented scholar Dr. Arthur Burnell, his valuable library was sold (in 1884) by Mr. Bernard Quaritch, the well known antiquarian bookseller of London, and some of the books came into my possession, among them being a manuscript thus described in the catalogue:—"Ribeyro (J.). *Historia Oriental* (in Portuguese), three books, 4to., 203 pp., old calf." When it reached my hands I saw that it was Ribeiro's work on Ceylon, and I hoped that it might be the author's autograph manuscript; but a further examination soon showed me that this was not the case. Owing to pressure of work in connection with a daily newspaper, it was not until I was on furlough in England in 1886 that I was able to look more carefully into this manuscript, comparing it with the Lisbon edition and Le Grand's French translation, the result being that I made the interesting discovery that this was the identical manuscript from which the Abbé le Grand made his translation. The proof of this will be given further on. Meanwhile, let us examine the various editions of Le Grand's translation of which the titles have been given above.

As I have shown, the Trevoux edition was the original, the Paris one being identical with it except for the title-page, so that we may consider these two together. After the title-page comes the Dedication, covering seven pages; then the Author's Preface of three pages; the Translator's Preface, five pages; Explanation of Names of Ranks, &c., one page; Table of the Chapters, six pages; various documents relating to the authorisation, &c., of the printing of the work, five pages; and Errata, one page. Then comes the body of the work, running from page 1 to page 352, with four extra pages, 187-90, at the end of Book I., which I shall explain presently. Book I. contains twenty-five chapters, the first twenty-four corresponding to those of the Portuguese original, except that chapters XVII. and XVIII. are transposed. But chapter XXV. is an entire interpolation of Le Grand's; it treats of the islands in the

neighbourhood of Jaffnapatam, and is founded on chapter XLV. of Baldæus.¹ In Book II. there are twenty-three chapters, against twenty-eight in the original. As far as chapter XVIII. the chapters in the two versions correspond; but chapter XX. of the Portuguese is included in chapter XIX. of the French; chapters XXI. and XXII. in chapter XX.; chapters XXIII., XXIV., and XXV. Portuguese in chapter XXI. French; chapter XXVI. Portuguese becomes chapter XXII. French, and chapter XXVII. Portuguese chapter XXIII. French. (The abbreviations which the chapters have undergone I shall notice afterwards.) In Book III. the state of affairs is almost worse, for the whole of the first seven chapters of the Portuguese have disappeared, and chapter I. French contains chapters VIII. and IX. Portuguese; chapter II. French comprising chapter X. Portuguese. Beside the letter-press, Le Grand's book had seven copperplate engravings by Berey, viz., one of the cinnamon and one of the talipot, and plans of Colombo, Galle, Kandy, Trincomalee, and Mannár, the one of Colombo being specially poor. But it also contained an excellent (for that period) map of Ceylon by De l'Isle, which is a marked contrast to the one found in the manuscript from which the Lisbon edition of Ribeiro was printed, and of which a miniature copy is given in Tennent. Now as to the Amsterdam edition of Le Grand. It is, as the title-page states, a reprint of the Trevoux edition, the corrections given in the Errata of the latter having been embodied in the text. So slavishly has the reprinter followed the original, that at chapter XXV. he has repeated the paging 187-90, though there was no necessity to do so, unless to make the pagination correspond with that of the earlier editions, which, however, it fails to do exactly.²

¹ This chapter was evidently written by Le Grand after the rest of the book was printed, for it is printed on thinner paper than that used elsewhere, and the paging 187-90 is repeated.

² A later edition issued at Trevoux in 1707 I have not seen; but one published at Amsterdam in 1719 is simply the 1701 Amsterdam edition with a new title-page, the publishers being Duvillard & Changuion.

A word now as to Lee's translation of Le Grand. From a somewhat cursory comparison of it with the French I have found the translation generally accurate, and have detected only a few serious errors. One of these occurs in chapter III. of Book I., where Le Grand has:—"On n'y manque pas non plus de bré, ni de mines de fer." Lee seems to have misread *bré* (Portuguese *breu*, resin, pitch) as *blé*, and so translates:—"Nor is *corn* wanting, or iron mines."¹ He has omitted several of Le Grand's notes, but has appended many of his own, which are generally useful and correct. In some cases, however, he has been sorely mystified, owing to the fault of Le Grand or his manuscript. These I shall touch upon further on. He gives facsimiles of Le Grand's plates, but not of the map of Ceylon, which was missing from the copy of Le Grand from which he made his translation. Though, through no fault of his, Lee's book cannot be accepted as a faithful translation of Ribeiro, it will always be of value, if only for the lengthy appendix referred to above.

I now come to consider the Burnell MS. of Ribeiro of which I have spoken above. It is stated in the memoir of Le Grand from which I have quoted that the Abbé found the MS. at Lisbon in the possession of Dom João Luis d'Acunha. (The MS. referred to by Barbosa Machado may perhaps be the one from which the Lisbon edition was printed.) Its subsequent history I have failed to trace. Dr. Burnell seems to have purchased it from Maisonneuve & Co., of Paris, but the latter are unable to say how it came into their hands. It is a small quarto of 202 leaves, written mostly in a clear hand, though in parts, especially at the end, the ink has eaten through the paper and made it brittle like tinder. It is bound in brown leather, with gilt ornamentation on the back and the single word "Fatalidade." It has no title-page, the first page containing the dedication of

¹ Another most ridiculous blunder that he has committed is the rendering throughout of Ribeiro's "*As Grevayas*" (which Le Grand has transferred to his French version without translating) as "*the Gravets*"! Of course the *Giruwá pattu* is meant.

the work to the king. I give opposite a facsimile of this page, which has at the foot, as will be seen, a note in a different hand, as follows:—"Qualquer Liureiro pode emquadernar esta obra do Capp^{am} Joaõ Ribeiro q̃ tracta das Couzas de Ceilaõ e comtade 202 Folhas. Saõ Dos de Leon de 7^{bro} de 1696 [?]. Fr. G^{co} do Crato." That is:—"Any bookseller may bind this work of Captain João Ribeiro, which treats of the affairs of Ceylon, and contains 202 leaves. São Domingos de Leon, September 1696 [?]. Freire (or Francisco) Gonçalo do Crato." This seems to be an authorisation, indicating that the book contained nothing inimical to "the Faith," but who the writer was I cannot say.¹ The date of the year is written apparently 1676, but 1696 must be meant, as Ribeiro presented his MS. to the king of Portugal in 1685. As Le Grand returned to France in 1697, the MS. would therefore seem to have come into his possession only shortly before he left Portugal. At the end of Book I. is a blank folding leaf, on which, evidently, a copy of the map of Ceylon which the original MS. contains was to have been made; but this was never done. Though, as I have said, the copyist wrote for the most part in a beautifully clear hand, he was, I am sorry to believe, not only careless but apparently dishonest, as I shall have to show.

Before proceeding to a more detailed comparison of the MS. and the printed edition, I may mention some of the general characteristics of the former. One of these is the spelling of Portuguese words: thus we find *pello* for *pelo*, *chama* for *chamma*, *fes* for *fez*, *réais* for *reaes*, *adquerir* for *adquirir*, *extillo* for *estilo*, *sogeito* for *sugeito*, *Ceyllaõ* for *Ceilão*, *sugessos* for *sucessos*, *serto* for *certo*, *jatançia* for *jactancia*, *pricioza* for *preciosa*, *idiffiçios* for *edeficios*, *thomey* for *tomei*, *cençura* for *censura*. All these examples are taken from the Dedication and Prologue alone, while the

¹ Leon, where the footnote, and apparently the MS. also, was written, is, I presume, the town in Spain, capital of the province of the same name. I have not been able to ascertain whether the monastery of S. Domingos still exists there.

Dedicada?

A.

Magestade do Sereniss-
simo D. Pedro 2.^o Rey
de Portugal Nosso moor.

Escrita.

Do Capitaõ João Ribeiro.

Qualquer Livroiro pode em qua-
drar 25ta obra de 400. an. 10. li-
bro de 4 tocha das coutras de Cr. e com
1a de 202 folhas. 10. de 10. de 10. de 7.
de 10. de 10. —

J. C. Godoy



body of the work abounds in similar peculiarities of spelling, of which I may instance *surgiaõ* for *cirurgiaõ*, *sanguexugas* for *sanguesugas*, *cocodrillo* for *crocodilo*, *parâvellas* for *parabolos*, *Jazus* for *Jesus*, *Sseilaõ* for *Ceilaõ*.

Another feature of the MS. is that it contains no erasures: in some cases a word or a letter has been altered, but where the copyist has written a whole sentence wrongly he has allowed it to stand, putting *alias* after it, and then giving the correct words. This is ingenious, and certainly has the advantage of preserving the neat appearance of the MS. Another characteristic of the MS. is the running together of several words and the use of contractions, in the case of the word *que* especially.

I shall now proceed to compare the MS. with the printed edition, chapter by chapter, noting the chief points in which they differ, and showing where Le Grand has blundered and where he has been misled by the faithless copyist.

BOOK I.

In L.A.¹ we have a summary of the contents of the book given: this is wanting in B., and of course therefore in LeG.

Chapter I.—LeG. has abbreviated this chapter, omitting the statement of Ribeiro that Ceylon “By its position is the mistress of all those regions which are commonly called India, that is, the kingdoms and provinces which exist between the two beautiful rivers Indus and Ganges: which in distance one from the other comprise more than six hundred leagues of coast.” In this passage, where L.A. reads *formosos* (beautiful) B. has *famozos* (famous). While Ribeiro says that the length of Ceylon is *seventy-two* leagues, LeG. deliberately alters this to *sixty-two*. He also omits the comparison of the Gulf of Mannár to the Adriatic, and the statement that it was thirty-six leagues in breadth.

Chapter II.—L.A. has in one place a misprint *Galle* for *Gátte*, the word being correctly given a little lower down.

¹ I use the following contractions:—L.A. for the Lisbon Academy printed edition; B. for the Burnell MS.; LeG. for Le Grand's French translation.

In the list of kingdoms on the Malabar coast LeG. has *Tala* for *Lala* (the *L* in *B.* looking very like a *T*), *Changatte* for *Mangatte* (the latter is the reading in both *L.A.* and *B.*), and *Achinota* for *Chinota* (*B.* having misled him). He also makes Ribeiro say "the Samorin, which I ought to put first," whereas Ribeiro gives the Samorin fourth in the list. (*B.* reads *o Damorim.*) In the list of the divisions of Ceylon, LeG. has *Asgrevañas* for *as Grevayas* of *L.A.* (*B.* reading *asgrevayas*). LeG. has also omitted, by an oversight, *Cucurucorla* from the list.

Chapter III.—Ribeiro says of the king of Cotta:—"Almost the whole of his lands are forests of Cinnamon, and extend from Chilao to within two leagues of the pagoda of Tanavaré." This LeG. transforms as follows:—"It is specially in his territory that the cinnamon grows; there is a forest of it of twelve leagues between Chilaon and the Pagoda of Tenevaré." Regarding the cinnamon tree, Ribeiro says:—"Its leaf is in appearance like that of plantain [*plantago*], in so far as relates to the three stalks that it has; the shape of it, however, is like that of the Laurel; crushed between the fingers, the odour is like that possessed by the best cloves of Rochelle." This LeG. translates:—"The leaf of the cinnamon greatly resembles that of the laurel; . . . if it is crushed between the fingers it emits a very agreeable and at the same time very powerful odour." Ribeiro also says:—" . . . as it rains every day it [the cinnamon tree] does not lose its leaves," which LeG. makes:—" . . . it [the leaf] never falls, *although* it often rains in that country." LeG. also omits Ribeiro's statement that the precious stones were found in a region "sixty-seven leagues in circumference." Among the precious stones Ribeiro mentions "*robâzes, verlis, taripos*": the first of these LeG. omits, and the other two he transfers without translating. Lee makes them "beryls" and "tourmaline," which is probably correct. I cannot find the word *robâz* in any Portuguese dictionary; but Stevens's Spanish dictionary has "*Robâso*, the precious stone called a cornelian," and "*Rubâça*, a red stone, of less value than a ruby, called a garnet." LeG. says that Brazil wood is called in

India "*sapaon*," and B. has "*sapaõ*"; curiously enough, L.A. has the false reading "*Saprao*." We now come to the famous statement of LeG. that "from the kingdom of Cotta alone there are obtained yearly more than a thousand boat-loads, of sixty tons each, of a certain sand which has a great sale throughout the whole of India." Now there are two gross errors here. In the first place, the boat-loads (*champanas*, L.A.; *chapanas*, B.) were, according to Ribeiro (L.A. and B.), *sumacas* of forty tons (*quarenta toneladas*) each; how LeG. made this blunder I cannot imagine. But the other error is far more serious, and for it not LeG. but B. is responsible. The latter states that the article exported from Cotta and so largely consumed in India was "*area*," which LeG. naturally enough translated "*sable*" (sand). Lee in his translation of LeG. appends a footnote to this as follows:—"I cannot discover what this sand is—no article of export of the kind is found now." If he had had the Lisbon printed edition of Ribeiro before him, he would at once have detected the error. It is noteworthy that Sir Emerson Tennent, though he was not, when he wrote, aware of the existence of this printed edition of Ribeiro, solved the mystery. In a note on page 27 of vol. II. he says:—"A passage in Ribeyro's account of the productions of Ceylon has puzzled both his translators and readers, as it describes the Island as despatching 'tous les ans, plus de mille bateaux, chacun de soixante tonneaux, d'un certain sable, dont on fait un très-grand débit dans toutes les Indes.'—ch. iii. Lee naively says that 'he cannot discover what this sand is.' But as Le Grand made his French translation from the Portuguese MS. of the author, it is probable that by a clerical error the word *arena* may have been substituted for *areca*, the restoration of which solves the mystery." There is a slight error here, the Portuguese word for "sand" being *aréa* (mod. *areia*), and not *arena*. Moreover, LeG. did not, as we now know, make "his French translation from the Portuguese MS. of the author." Ribeiro further says that Ceylon produces "also a large number of elephants, much pepper,

both of which are considered the best in the whole of the East," which LeG. expands into :—"It is well known how much the Mogol, the Kings of Pegu, of Siam, and other Indian Kings value the Elephants of Ceylon. The Pepper that grows in this Island is sold at a much higher price than that of other countries." I have referred above to Lee's mistake in translating "*bré*" as "corn" instead of "resin"; but in fact Ribeiro says that Ceylon produces "much resin of two kinds": these he describes more fully in chapter XI. LeG. has a long Addition to this third chapter, in which he deals with cinnamon, areca (this makes it the more remarkable that he did not detect the error of "*area*"), the talipot, &c. Among other things he says :—"I do not think that the white sandal is as common in Ceylon as Jean Ribeyro says, at least there is not much trade in it, and all the good white sandal is obtained from the Island of Timor." - Now Ribeiro nowhere that I can find makes the statement here attributed to him, so the worthy Abbé is knocking down a man of straw of his own erection.

Chapter IV.—Ribeiro says that Colombo was situated on a bay (*bahia*). B. has the absurd reading "*botica*" (apothecary's shop), but LeG. has had the sense to write "*anse*" (creek). B. has also the nonsensical reading "*sirvada*" for "*situada*." This chapter is a very short one, and enumerates the chief towns, &c., all round the coast of Ceylon, with the distances between each. To it LeG. appends the following remarks :—"The Nations have not yet come to an agreement with respect to measures: the leagues are in some countries double and treble what they are in others; so that one cannot be surprised that the Authors who have written on the Island of Ceylon are so little in accord among themselves as to its extent; but it seems extraordinary that a single writer does not agree with himself. Jean Ribeyro says in the first chapter that this Island has a circumference of one hundred and ninety leagues, and by the reckoning which he here makes we can find only one hundred and sixty-six. The

Dutch, however, give it as two hundred ; for with respect to its area they make it fifty-six and a half leagues in breadth, and its length they reckon also as fifty-six and a half leagues from Ponte de Galle to Triquinimalé : whereas Jean Ribeyro only gives it forty-seven leagues in its greatest breadth, and likewise reckons only forty-six from Ponte de Gallo to Triquinimalé ; which shows that there is the difference of one-fifth in the method of reckoning of our Author as compared with that of the Dutch, and that thus it is not so difficult to reconcile them ; and that if the Island of Ceylon is one hundred and sixty-six Portuguese leagues in circumference, it must be about two hundred leagues, following the scale of the Dutch." All this is very ingenious, but is completely beside the mark ; for Ribeiro agrees perfectly with himself in this chapter and the first in making the circumference of the Island one hundred and ninety leagues. The fact is, that the careless copyist of B. (Le Grand's MS.) has omitted several lines referring to Batticaloa, which give the very figures (24) required to make up the 190.

Chapter V.—LeG. gives a fair, though rather free, translation of this chapter. I may simply mention that the statement that the emperor of Ceylon sent "two" ambassadors and "a crown of gold" to the king of Portugal is an interpolation of Le Grand's. Ribeiro says that on his baptism the emperor took the name of "D. João Pareá Pandar" : LeG. transforms "Pareá" (or "Parca," as B. has it) into "Parera," and this Lee further alters into "Perera" ! LeG. has two lengthy Additions to this chapter, in which he supplements from other sources the information given by Ribeiro.

Chapter VI.—Le Grand's translation is again somewhat free, but a fair representation of the original. He has an Addition to this chapter also.

Chapter VII.—There is nothing particular to remark on this chapter, except that LeG. has here (as elsewhere) rendered the "ola" of the original ("olla" in B.) by the word "lettre."

Chapter VIII.—This is a very short chapter, and LeG. has given the general sense of it; but he has made one serious blunder. Ribeiro says that D. Hieronimo de Azevedo, after his entry into Kandy, “was lucky in being able to retire, with the loss of three hundred Portuguese and many Lascarins of the Emperor’s dominions,” whereas LeG. states that “he thought himself fortunate in being able to retire with only three hundred Portuguese and some Lascarins of the Emperor of Ceylon.” (Lee has “Cotta.”) Le Grand’s addition to this chapter is three times the length of the latter. In it he says that Dom João “reigned more than thirteen years after the death of Pedro-Lopés de Souza,” whereas in a note to the chapter itself (which Lee omits) he says, “He lived nearly ten more years after this,” that is, after the defeat of D. Hieronimo. LeG. says that Henar Pandar on coming to the throne took the name of “*Cam-Apati-Maha-d’Ascin*,” which, Lee says in a note, “is not to be found among Singhalese authors, and its orthography is not in any manner to be twisted into a Singhalese name.” Le Grand has here copied from Baldæus, who in chapter VIII. of his work on Ceylon makes the above statement, and also gives the meaning of three-fourths of this title, the correct spelling of which is, I suppose, “*Kshamápati Mahádarṣin*.”

Chapter IX.—This gives an account of the death of the Emperor Dom João, after donating the Island of Ceylon to the King of Portugal. Ribeiro states that the emperor’s nephew was sent to Portugal and ordained as a priest, being granted an allowance for his support; and he adds in parentheses:—“We knew this Prince at one time, and called him ‘de Telheiras,’ from the place where he resided, and in which locality he founded an Oratory for the Brothers of St. Francis.” LeG. enlarges this somewhat, and then fathers upon Ribeiro the following statement:—“I have seen the Act of Foundation, which is of the month of June of the year 1639, and his will, which is of the month of March, 1642. Although a Priest, he had by Susanne d’Abreu two daughters, both of whom were Nuns of the Cordeliers at *Via Longa*.”

One of them was Abbess when I went there on the 19th of January, 1693. He gives orders in his will that his Cousin D. Philippe, Canon of Coimbra, shall be interred on one side of the Altar, and himself on the other ; and names as executor of his will one D. Jacques of Ceylon, also a relative of his." No wonder that Lee was mystified by this passage, and to the date 1693 appended the note :—" There must be an error in this date, as this work is stated in the title-page to have been presented to the king of Portugal by Ribeyro in 1685."

Chapter X.—Ribeiro states that the territory bequeathed by the Emperor Dom João to the King of Portugal contained 21,873 villages ; but LeG. makes the number 21,863. There are numerous details omitted by LeG. For instance, Ribeiro enumerates the articles which the "mayors" of villages were bound to supply to the Emperor's troops when on march, viz., "chickens, hens, butter, kids, cows, and pigs." LeG. also fails to apprise us of the interesting fact that "all these villages have coolies [L.A. "*Culles*," B. "*cúles*"], who are for the carting," &c. In the list of trades, &c., Ribeiro mentions "*mainatos*" (washermen), "*jagreiros*" (jaggery-makers), "*páchas*" (classed with sandal-makers and barbers, as of low caste¹), "*cornacas*" (elephant-keepers), and "*chaliás*," all of which we fail to find recorded in LeG. In the case of the "*cornacas*" this is due to the omission of some lines in B. The total weight of cinnamon obtained yearly by the King of Ceylon is said by LeG. to have been 10,565 quintals : the figures in Ribeiro are 10,575. According to Ribeiro, the overseer of the gem-diggers in Sabaragamuwa was called "*Vidana das agras*" : this appears in LeG. as "*Vidava das agras*," the printer having misread the *n* of the first word as a *u* ; Lee translates the title as "vidahn aratchy," which is hardly justifiable. To this chapter also LeG. has appended an Addition.

¹ Clough has "*Pachayá*, a man of a degraded tribe, a low caste man." (See also chapters XI. and XVI. of Ribeiro.)

Chapter XI.—Here again Ribeiro mentions the “*pachás*” (B. “*Páchaos*”), and LeG. has transferred the word without explaining it. Lee puts a note to it as follows :—“Perhaps this is a mistake of the copyist for *paduwas*, originally palanquin-bearers from the coast,” but this explanation is unsatisfactory. In rendering Le Grand’s (and B.’s) “*Butategama*” (L.A. “*Butalegama*”) as *Bulatgama*, however, Lee is no doubt correct. In speaking of the payment by the natives to their chiefs of taxes, Ribeiro says that the principal article in which payment was made was “*aréca*, which is highly valued throughout India.” This LeG. deliberately alters into “*Areca*, which is a *leaf* that is greatly valued,” &c. ; and Lee goes still further and says :—“The tax is more especially paid in *betel*, which is a leaf,” &c. In this chapter LeG. has preserved the “*Culles*” (coolies) and “*Motteto*” (*mutteṭṭu*) of Ribeiro. LeG. says that “The forests of Ceylon are rich in productions which might be serviceable to commerce.” This can hardly be called a fair translation of Ribeiro’s words, which are :—“Moreover, the forests contain a great quantity of *cocculus (coca)*.” I referred above to the fact that Ribeiro states that Ceylon produces two kinds of resin ; these are mentioned here, and one is particularly described, which he says the people of India call “*chandarrús*.” Lee has a note to this :—“I do not think this word is known in Ceylon—the gum mentioned is the *Doommala*, a kind of *copal*.” As I have shown above, Ribeiro specially says that it was in *India* that the name “*chandarrús*” was used. The word is found in Arabic and Hindústání as *sindarús*, *sanduros*, *sundaros*, and in English as *sandarach*.

Chapter XII.—In this chapter Ribeiro gives a description of the chief places occupied by the Portuguese in Ceylon. In describing *Colapão* he says that the walls were of “*taipa singela*,” which words LeG. has transferred without explanation, and Lee confesses himself unable to explain. A writer in the *Orientalist* says that they mean “*Sinhalese walls*.” “*Taipa*” means “mud wall,” and “*singela*” is nothing but “simple.” That is, the walls were “simply mud.”

LeG. fails to record the fact that the portion near the sea at the south of the fort of Colombo was called "Galvoca" (Galle Buck). He also omits the statement of Ribeiro that the fort of Jaffna was built of "pumice-stone" ("*pedra pomes*"). To this chapter LeG. has a lengthy addition, to only one point in which shall I refer. Speaking of Galle, he says:—" . . . the soil is everywhere stony, it is this that has given it the name *das Gravayas*." What he thought *Gravayas* meant I cannot imagine. Lee makes the matter worse by, as usual, replacing "*as Gravayas*" by "gravets." [Since the above was in type, I have discovered, through the kindness of Mr. F. H. de Vos of Galle, the origin of Le Grand's explanation of the word "*Gravayas*." Baldæus, in his *Ceylon*, chapter XXII., says of Galle:—" . . . the mountains look very fine from there. One travels along hewn out roads, called Gravettes, because they are made and cut [*gegraven*] through the mountains." Of course this explanation is utterly wrong, and Le Grand, by copying only a portion of what Baldæus wrote, has left his readers to flounder in a quagmire of hopeless doubt as to what connection "stony ground" could have with the name "*Gravayas*."]

Chapter XIII.—This chapter calls for no special remark, except the last sentence, which, as the editors of L.A. have shown, LeG. has mistranslated, having been misled by B., which for "*casava*" reads "*escuzava*."

Chapter XIV.—Ribeiro says that in Ceylon the image of Buddha ("*Bodu*") was "more than six cubits" high. LeG. makes this "more than 32 feet." Ribeiro also states that the Siphalese call their year "*Aurudá*," which fact LeG. passes over. The statement of Ribeiro¹ that "all assert" ("*todos affirmão*") that "the Apostle^p Thomas. . . was in this Island," is modified by the copyist of B. into "they say" ("*dizem*"), &c. Ribeiro says of the Siphalese that "they do not deny the immortality of the soul, but say that when the wicked dies his soul goes into an animal suited to his evil habits, and he who lives well into some domestic

animal, and especially into a cow : that of the brave man into a tiger, panther," &c. By the omission of a line B. has misled LeG. into making Ribeiro assert that the soul of a wicked man passes into a domestic animal. LeG. also has changed the "panther" ("*onça*") of Ribeiro into a "bear" ("*ours*"). Ribeiro mentions the belief of the Sîphalese that those who have done well in one existence will have their possessions doubled in the next ; and he adds :—" . . . for this reason these people do not inherit a *real* from their parents, nor do married persons ever show each other the money that comes into their hands, but everything that each acquires he buries when the opportunity appears safe to him, and thus nobody has anything of his own. When they die they are found to have only some cattle and implements of labour or similar things." LeG. has blundered over this as follows :—" . . . this is why they preserve nothing of what he [the deceased] has amassed ; they bury all with him, and only retain some cattle," &c. LeG. has an addition to this chapter also. Lee renders his "*Gones*" and "*Changutars*" by "*gorunnanses*" and "*sanghias*"; he has omitted the last sentence of the Addition.

Chapter XV.—LeG. omits the statement of Ribeiro that the trees at the foot of which the Sîphalese placed their floral offerings were called "*Bodîames*" (B. "*badiâmes*"), *i.e.*, "*Bôdihâmi*" ? LeG. has a footnote as follows :—" All that I have seen regarding the Heathen say that the Devil being wicked it is necessary to try and get his friendship by rites and presents or sacrifices ; and that God on the contrary being all-good has need of nothing." This Leo has, most unjustifiably, incorporated in the text as if it were Ribeiro's statement and referred to the Sîphalese. Ribeiro says that there are five kinds of poisonous snakes in Ceylon : this LeG. omits. In the latter part of this chapter LeG. has taken many liberties with the original. The last paragraph of Ribeiro is as follows :—" They are said to have many other sorceries ; but I relate what I saw with my own eyes. There are among them Astrologers, whom they call Nangatás : these, I doubt

not, are greater sorcerers than the others, since they have to have a hand in the matter before they are capacitated for one thing or another: these they always consult when making journeys and have an omen for anything; the hour in which it is necessary to enter on a war, fight a battle, sow the field, get married, or any other business, all is done by their advice. These Nangatás are of a low caste corresponding to our drummers." In place of this LeG. has the following:—"Many other instances of their superstitions are related; but that which is universal is, that they have many Astrologers whom they call *Nagatas*, and that they undertake no business without consulting them. It is true that these *Nagatas*, who in origin are poor wretches and of the vilest condition among these people, do sometimes make predictions that astonish one, when one sees, contrary to all hope, what they predicted occur; so that it is difficult to believe that there is not some pact with the Devil, and in fact something supernatural about the affair." It is remarkable that in this passage B. (followed by LeG.) has a better reading ("*Nagatás*") than L.A. ("*Nangatás*"). Lee has the following note to this word:—"The Singalese word for an Astrologer is *ජෙයියෙකුකාරයා* (*Giotisastrikaria*), and of an Astronomer *නක්ෂෙත්‍රකාරයා* (*Naksastrikaria*). The word in the text is unknown." This is a surprising statement. Of course "*nagatu*" represents the Siphalese *nakat* or *nekata*.

Chapter XVI.—In speaking of the caste system Ribeiro tells us that "*cariás*" are fishermen, "*mainatos*" washermen, and "*pachás*" sandal-makers: this LeG. omits. Ribeiro says of the Siphalese:—"All these people are of the colour of a quince, some darker than others, the hair in the Nazarene fashion, the beard wide, in the ancient Portuguese style; of a pleasant countenance, and not differing from the people of Spain," &c. In place of the last words ("*da gente de Hespanha*") B. has "from our Portuguese" ("*dos nossos Portuguezes*"), while LeG. renders the passage as follows:—"All the men are swarthy, or rather of a colour approaching

to reddish-brown, some of a darker colour than others; they wear the hair long, the beard square." LeG. has also abbreviated a good deal in the latter part of this chapter, and in some places has been misled by false readings in B. He has also made an Addition to this chapter.

Chapter XVII.—Ribeiro commences this chapter with the words "As we are speaking of these animals," *i.e.*, of elephants, to which he had been referring in the previous chapter. LeG., however, breaks the connection between chapters XVI. and XVII. by inserting chapter XVIII. between them, so making chapter XIX., which treats of the animals of Ceylon, follow the one on elephants. Speaking of the famous elephant Ortelá, Ribeiro says that he brought the King of Kandy more than fifty thousand *patucas* yearly; LeG. has "plus de cinquante mils écus," which Lee has by a slip rendered "about 15,000 crowns." LeG. omits to record the fact mentioned by Ribeiro, that every year twenty or thirty elephants were sold to the Great Mogul. Ribeiro says that in eight days the wild elephants become tractable. LeG. shortens this period to three days. He has also abbreviated considerably throughout this chapter.

Chapter XVIII.—By the omission of some lines B. has led LeG. to make the statement that even the low-caste murderer of a high-caste person could not be put to death unless taken within sixty days: whereas Ribeiro makes the contrary assertion. In the account of the trial for adultery, also, B. has omitted the words "*de azeite*" ("of oil"), and so led LeG. to make one of the ordeals the thrusting of the arm into a caldron of boiling *water*. LeG. also omits the following statement of Ribeiro's:—"This ordeal is a barbarous one; but I heard one of our people, who was several times Maralleiro, say that he has seen many women come through these tortures without injury."

Chapter XIX.—Among the animals recorded by Ribeiro as being found in Ceylon are "*macareos*"; these are omitted by LeG. Ribeiro also says that the rivers yield large quantities of fish and "*camarões*" (prawns or shrimps);

LeG. translates the last word "*coquillage*" (shellfish), which Lee has rendered "shells"! Regarding smallpox, Ribeiro says:—"They call this disease *Deané charia*, which in our language means an affair with God." This appears in LeG. as:—"The people of the country call it *Ancharia*, an affair with God, because apparently one does not recover from it except by a miracle, and because one must think of putting his affairs in order when he is attacked by this disease." It will be noticed that for "*Deané charia*" LeG. has "*Ancharia*," which Lee has further altered into "*Ankaria*." The origin of Le Grand's blunder is found in B., which reads "*dean-charia*," the first two letters of which word LeG. evidently mistook for the Portuguese preposition *de*. "*Deané charia*" apparently represents the Siphalese *Deviyanné káriya*. The Siphalese name of the venereal disease is given in L.A. as "*Parángué rere*," while B. (followed by LeG.) reads "*Parangelere*," the latter being a better reading, if, as I suppose, the Siphalese *parangi-leda* is intended. Towards the end of this chapter the copyist of B. has omitted several lines.

Chapter XX.—Ribeiro states that "there are large numbers of bears in a portion of the island, but not throughout": this LeG. omits. Ribeiro's not very delicate story of the soldier and the mongoose has been considerably toned down by LeG. The statement in LeG. that "the Sinhalese call it [the cobra] *Naïa* and *Naghaïa*," is an interpolation of the Abbé's which he has fathered on Ribeiro. LeG. has also considerably abbreviated Ribeiro's details regarding the snakes of Ceylon.

Chapter XXI.—In this chapter also LeG. has omitted many little details given by Ribeiro: his mistranslation regarding the gathering of pepper has been noticed above by the editors of L.A. LeG. has appended to this chapter an Addition, containing information on precious stones by Barbosa, taken from Ramusio.

Chapter XXII.—In this chapter also LeG. has taken considerable liberties with his original. His blunder about

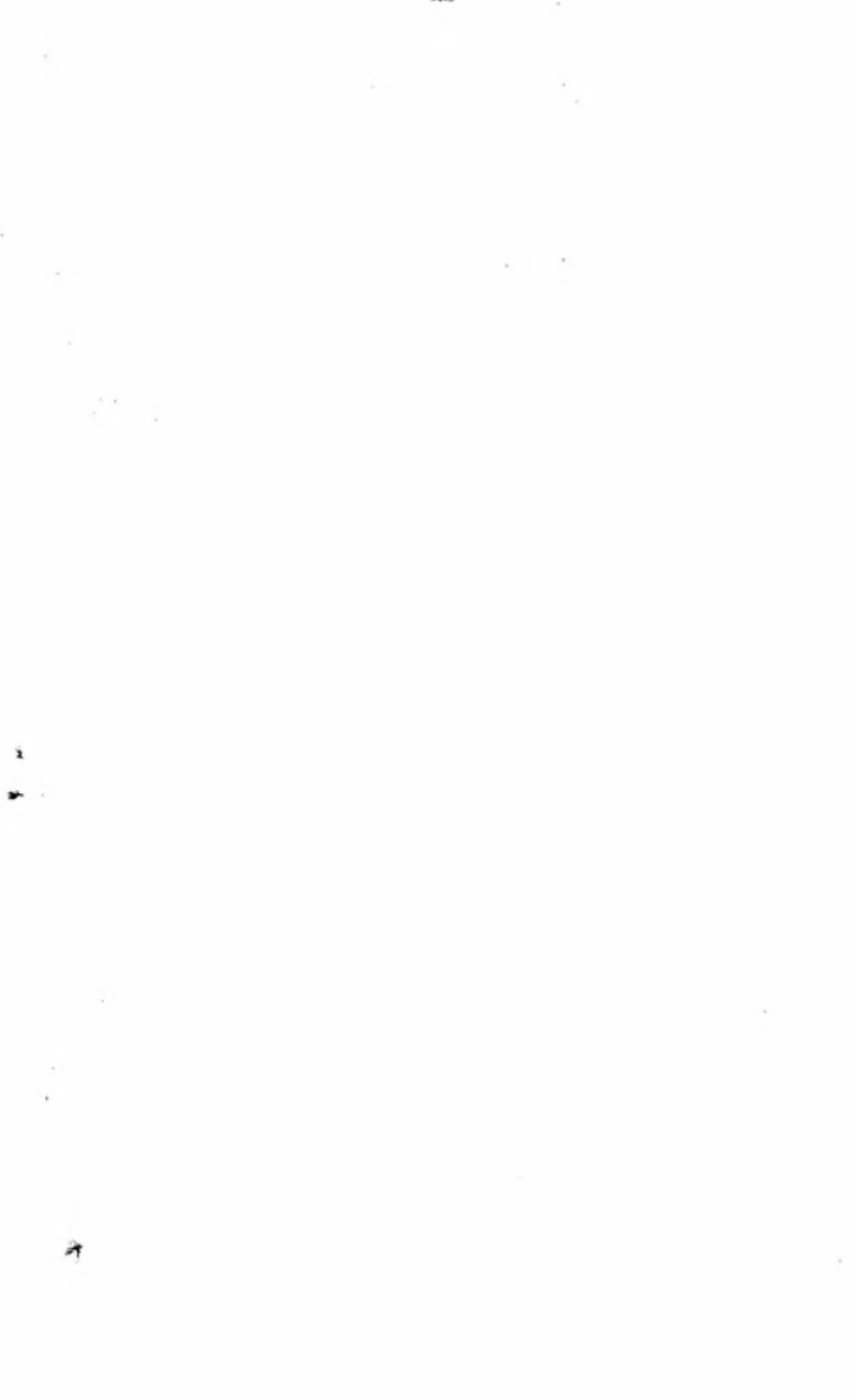
the pearl diver's privilege has been pointed out above by the editors of L.A.

Chapter XXIII.—By omitting a line the copyist of B. has led LeG. to make Ribeiro say that the trees planted round the footprint on Adam's Peak were intended to give the spot a more venerable appearance; whereas our author really states that the trees made the place healthier and more agreeable. The Abbé has characteristically improved on Ribeiro's outspoken remarks as to the fraudulent origin of the footprint. L.A. has the misprint "Pasdim corla" for "Pasduncorla," as B. has it (LeG. "Pasdum corla"). For the "Trequimale" and "Batecalou" of L.A., B. has "Trinquimale" and "Baticalous."

Chapter XXIV.—LeG. makes Ribeiro say that it is a singular thing that Ceylon should have for centuries contained so many different nations, and he adds a footnote to explain that these were probably the descendants of persons shipwrecked on the coasts of the Island. But he has quite misunderstood our author, who makes no such statement as that fathered upon him, but is referring to the Veddás. LeG. also makes Ribeiro say:—"There was formerly near Balané a small Kingdom called *Saula*": here the Abbé has misread the *J* of "Jaula" (Yála) in B. as an *S*, and has mistakenly altered "Balavé" (Walawé) to "Balané." Among the places supplied with salt from the salt pans of Balavé Ribeiro mentions "Villacem" (Wellassa): this name LeG. omits. The "pagoda" which Ribeiro speaks of at the end of this chapter is not the "Wirgel-coil or temple" as Lee states, but that of Kataragama: Ribeiro gives the name ("Catérgão"), but LeG. has failed to record it. Ribeiro, moreover, says that it was guarded by "five hundred" armed men, not "1,500," as LeG. makes it.

BOOK II.

Chapter I.—In this chapter occurs a passage, one word of which LeG. has most amusingly metamorphosed. In LeG. we read:—"It was immediately sought to reassure



O Capital Geral Com grande
deligencia o foi demandar, e informado,
deleyde sua marola, lemo esperar e
veliron a Candia, o General pór todas as terras
emquistada. Evendo q' da parte do Rey
nao compido a guerra, e q' estava muy so-
berbo, e orguloso, p'alle a mandar os vrios
depois em marola Com quinhentos solda-
dos Portuguezes, e agente p'dta dos nossos
terras todos bem amodicionados, e contentes,
p' ser o principio de guerra, o foi demandar em
seu mesmo Reyno.

the subjects of the King of Portugal, somewhat alarmed by the irruption which the King of Candy had made ; a garrison of five hundred Portuguese was placed at Maula, in order to arrest the incursions of the Cingalese, and to abate the pride of their King." Now I have no doubt that many readers of LeG. or of Lee's translation have wondered where "Maula" was situated, and have searched the maps in vain to find it. The fact is, however, that "Maula" is what Professor Skeat would call a "ghost word," and is an invention of the worthy Abbé, founded on a misreading of B. What Ribeiro wrote was that "The General quieted all the territories, and seeing that the war had broken out from the King's side, and that he was very proud and vain, and in order to tame his pride, put himself *on the march* with five hundred Portuguese soldiers, and the black people of our territories, all well armed," &c. I give on the opposite page a facsimile of the passage in B. from which it will be seen that the word "*marcha*" is so written as to be easily mistaken for "Maula" by one unacquainted with the copyist's mode of forming his letters ; but this excuse can hardly be pleaded in the case of the Abbé ; in fact, the same word occurs a few lines above, where the letters are more clearly formed. It was this curious error that confirmed my suspicion that B. was the identical MS. used by LeG. for his translation. Ribeiro gives as the reason for the King of Kandy's Atapattu Mudaliyár's marching on Jaffna, the fact that the garrison of that fort was small, and that Felipe de Oliveira, who had brought that kingdom under submission to the Portuguese rule, was dead. This is not recorded in LeG., the copyist of B. having omitted a couple of lines. The name of the captain of the relieving expedition sent to Jaffna is given by LeG. as "Jean de Pina," but L.A. and B. both read "Foão," not "João." Ribeiro tells us that the Portuguese general went from Manicavaré to Malvana, "where that King [of Kandy] solicited peace, with all the earnestness and the conditions that we required. The general was not very unwilling to accede, both on account of those conditions and because the

soldiers during those two years had become worn out by the continual marches and toils," &c., and goes on to say :—"how-
ever, at this time an order reached him from the Viceroy, the Conde de Linhares, in which he expressly commanded him that he should once for all conquer that Kingdom, accusing him of remissness." LeG. has misunderstood the first part of this passage strangely, for he renders it:—" . . . from there he went to Malvana, where the King solicited him earnestly for some time to endeavour to reduce the rest of the country. The General recognised the importance and the difficulties of this enterprise," &c. Apparently the Abbé thought the "King" referred to was the Portuguese "King of Malvana." Lee seems not to have been able to understand what was meant by "the King," for he leaves him out entirely, and translates:—" . . . he went to Malwana, where he received pressing orders," &c. LeG. makes Ribeiro say that the Viceroy was ignorant of previous communications on the subject of the capture of Ceylon: this is absurd, and is not borne out by the original. Ribeiro gives the year 1630 as that when Constantino de Sá became for the second time Captain-General of Ceylon, and prepared to enter on the campaign which cost him his life: this LeG. omits. According to L.A. the four traitor Mudaliyárs were "allied to the chief Portuguese inhabitants," but according to B. "with persons of authority." LeG. has made an Addition to this chapter, in which some details are given regarding the traitors.

Chapter II.—Ribeiro says:—"The soldiers that he [the General] had did not amount to four hundred; wherefore he chose some citizens of Columbo capable of accompanying him, and with the one and the other body he made up five hundred men, and some twenty thousand lascarins." LeG. renders this:—"He drew as many as four hundred Portuguese from the garrisons, and enrolled some thousand or eleven hundred in Colombo; so that he collected nearly fifteen hundred Portuguese and twenty thousand Lascarins." As before, the Abbé has misunderstood "*quinhentos*" to mean

"fifteen hundred" instead of "five hundred." Ribeiro says that D. Jorge de Almeida landed at Colombo "at the end of October, 1631"; LeG. says "on the 21st of October of the year 1631."

Chapter III.—Ribeiro says that the Portuguese whom the Captain-General had deprived of the elephant given him by the King of Kandy received from the latter "precious stones" of double the value. LeG. simply says "presents."

Chapter IV.—As an example of the carelessness of the copyist of B., and of the way in which he has altered words arbitrarily, I may mention the following. L.A. reads:—"Com esta resposta se poz logo o General em marcha com toda a gente de guerra das nossos terras"; but B. has:—"Com esta Reposta sepos logo o Rey em marcha, ou general em marcha com toda agente da Terra de nossos dominios."

Chapter V.—The words with which this chapter concludes in LeG., viz., "and thus was kindled in the Island of Ceylon a war that cost Portugal dearly," are not found in Ribeiro.

Chapter VI.—According to Le Grand, Ribeiro makes the statement that "there is no port on that side," i.e., on the east coast of Ceylon; and Lee appends to this a note, saying:—" . . . it is unnecessary to point out the inaccuracy of this remark to those who know that there is perhaps not a finer harbour in the world, certainly not in the Eastern seas, than that of Trincomalee." But Ribeiro does not make any such assertion: he simply says that the position of Batticaloa and Trincomalee rendered them of little use to the Portuguese, who spent more on those places than they got from them. According to L.A. it was "after seven days" that the garrison of Trincomalee capitulated to the Dutch: B. has "in a few days."

Chapter VII.—Ribeiro describes Caimel as being situated "a league to the north of Negumbo"; LeG. says "a league from Negumbo"; while Lee makes it "a league below Negombo." According to L.A. the Portuguese, after fortifying

Negombo, placed in it "three" pieces of artillery; B., followed by LeG., makes it "ten" ("*des*" for "*tres*"). Regarding Dom Filippe Mascarenhas, Ribeiro says:—" . . . of the many nobles I knew during nineteen years in that dominion [India], he surpassed all in his character and virtues." LeG. has blundered over this, and made Ribeiro say that he was acquainted with this noble "during *eighteen* years." (B. has "em 18 annos alias 19.") Ribeiro says that Antonio da Mota Galvão was sent to Sabaragamuwa to bring it under the rule of the Portuguese; LeG. says that he was sent *from* that district for that purpose!

Chapter IX.—Ribeiro says that Fernão de Mendoça, when escaping from the Kandyan King's dominions, reached Matara through the "Grevaias," which, as usual, Lee has rendered "gravets."

Chapter X.—Ribeiro says that Antonio da Mota Galvão sent an escort to meet the prince of Uva at "Opanaique" (Opanayaka). The copyist of B., mistaking the first letter of this name for the Portuguese definite article, makes it "o Panaique," which LeG. copies. Strangely enough, L.A. is still worse, for it reads "o panaique."

Chapter XI.—LeG. says that the Prince of Uva was accompanied to Goa by two nobles and "two" servants. Ribeiro does not specify the number of the latter. The account of the Prince's baptism is also a good deal abbreviated by LeG.

Chapter XII.—The copyist of B. has omitted a couple of lines near the beginning of this chapter, and LeG., not being able to make sense of what remained, has abbreviated considerably. For the "Cadangão" of L.A., B. has "Candegam" (in LeG. "Condegan"), which is nearer the correct form of the name, viz., Kendangomuwa. LeG. has again altered "Balave" to "Balané," and Lee has once more rendered "Gravayas" by "Gravets." For the "Acomivina" (Akmimana) of L.A., B. has "Acomevina," which in LeG. is altered to "Acomerina." LeG. omits the statement of Ribeiro that the Dutch commissary who arrived in Colombo in February, 1643, to inform the Portuguese of

the ten years' treaty of peace, was Pieter Burel, and that he came with four ships.

Chapter XIII.—Ribeiro says that the battle of "Curaça" lasted from 9 in the morning to 3 in the afternoon; LeG. makes it commence at 8 A.M. LeG. makes the name of the Dutch commander "Vanderhat"; L.A. has "Uvanderlat," and B. "Vvanderlat." (Of course Van der Laan is meant.) Ribeiro adds that he was "the best soldier they had in the Island." The wounded on the Portuguese side were 67, and not 60, as LeG. has it. Ribeiro does not state, as LeG. makes him say, that the Captain-General raised the ranks and the pay of those wounded in this conflict: he simply says that he slipped under the bolster of each a paper containing 12, 15, or 20 San-Thomés, according to their rank. LeG. is also inaccurate in other details. For "Acomivina" or "Acomevina" LeG. has "Comeriau," which Lee has altered to "Comerian." (This curious mistake is due partly to a misprint and partly to Le Grand's misreading of B., the copyist of which has written "a Comevina.") LeG., following B., has the misspellings "Mapoligana" and "Bolitote," for "Mapolegama" and "Belitote." To the latter name Lee has a note, "? Bentotte." This is absurd: Welitota is the place referred to. "Mapolegama" is of course Mápalamaga. There seems to be no doubt that by "Curaça" Ribeiro meant Mirissa, but how the name assumed such a guise I cannot imagine, unless it was in some way confused with Akuressa.

Chapter XIV.—Through a stupid blunder of the copyist of B., LeG. makes Ribeiro say that Pedro de Sousa left Colombo for Negombo at 8 in the morning, whereas he simply says that eight companies marched from Colombo to assist the other Portuguese troops. Ribeiro also says that they marched with great difficulty, as the route consisted of five leagues of deep sand, which caused them to go backwards as much as forwards. "Poçinho," which Ribeiro states was midway between Colombo and Negombo, means "the little well." LeG. says that on the news of the defeat of the

Portuguese army reaching Colombo, the wife of Antonio da Mota Galvão "increased the alarm and horror by her cries." This is utterly unjustified by the original ; and in other details the Abbé is equally incorrect. LeG. says that the successor of Antonio da Mota Galvão in command of the troops was "Jean Alvarés Brandan"; B. has "João Alvres Brandão"; but L.A. reads "João Alvres Beltrão." LeG. says that the Captain-General of Colombo placed troops "in the castle of Betal." Here he has been misled by B., which reads "*paço*" (castle) for "*passo*" (pass). The place referred to is Pass Betal (Wattala).

Chapter XV.—LeG., following B., says that it was on the 17th of January, 1640, that the Dutch retired from Colombo to Negombo ; whereas L.A. has the 27th. The "*Paço dos Lagartos*" of B. and LeG. should be "*Passo dos Lagartos*" (the Pass of the Lizards). As a specimen of the manner in which LeG. has curtailed and mistranslated the original, the following passage may be quoted. Ribeiro says :—"On the 25th we gave them [the enemy] an invitation with nine hundred and fifty balls and one hundred and twenty fire-bombs, which had more the appearance of the latter than that they were such in reality ; for the zeal of the Captain-General led him to order the casting of a mortar, and in place of bombs he ordered a good number of cocoanuts to be filled with powder, which, when well covered with tow, pitch, and other ingredients, seemed to be what they were not ; so that, while the enemy made fun of these bombs, they were all the same much annoyed by them ; for the Church and the houses of the old fortress did not hold two hundred, and four hundred found accommodation in thatched huts, and they went about continually with buckets in their hands to protect themselves from those fireballs ; but the greatest effect was almost nothing." This LeG. renders thus :—"On the 25th there came to us a convoy of 950 bullets and 150 bombs ; the Captain-General caused mortars to be erected, from which cocoanuts supplied with pitch, tow, and resin were thrown, all thinking that they would greatly inconvenience the besieged, because, as

there were not houses to lodge all the garrison, the greater part of the soldiers were in wretched huts easy to burn. But all this had no great effect." LeG. has also considerably abbreviated the speech of the German officer, and his version of it is very incorrect. LeG., following B., says that the assault on Negombo lasted from 11 A.M. to 11 P.M.; L.A. says from 11 A.M. to 2 P.M. For the "Val dos Reis" of L.A., B. and LeG. have "Valdereis." The "Verganpetim" of L.A. is in B. "Vargempetim," and in LeG. "Vaigampetim." Lee has rendered it "Waygampittia," which is incorrect; the place referred to is Weligampitiya, between Colombo and Negombo.

Chapter XVI.—For the "Bebiliagama" of L.A., B. and LeG. have "Bitiagama."

Chapter XVII.—For "Lahoa" (Alawwa) Le Grand has "Lagoa," he having misread B., where the *h* is written very like a *g*. Ribeiro says:—"At Calituré a Captain of infantry was in charge with his company; and likewise another in a stockade made of wood at Canasturé, where we had a magazine, in which were stored the provisions and ammunition that came by the river for the supply of the camp at Manicavaré." This LeG. renders:—"A Company of Infantry with a Captain was stationed at Calituré, and at the mouth of the river of Calituré some magazines were made for the camp of Manicavaré, and there likewise a Company of Infantry was stationed." Here the Abbé has gone out of his way to blunder: the "river" referred to by Ribeiro is the Kelani, and "Canasturé" is Kanadura on the Gurugoda-oya. He has also deliberately altered the "eighty" soldiers of which each of the three companies in Colombo was composed to "eight hundred." With this chapter commences the omission by the copyist of B. of long passages, often of great importance, of the original, with the occasional insertion of words to fill up the lacunæ. It is no wonder, therefore, that Le Grand sometimes found it difficult to follow the narrative, and inserted statements not made by Ribeiro. For instance, in this chapter LeG. makes Ribeiro say of Lopo Barriga

that he was "an active and vigilant man, but one not to the taste of everybody, and regarded more as the spy and minister to the passions of the General than as a camp Marshal." "Aranduré" (Arandara) is in B. written "Anduré," and LeG. has still further altered this to "Anduné."

Chapter XVIII.—The greater part (about six-sevenths) of this chapter is omitted by B.

Chapter XIX.—About three-fourths of this chapter is omitted by B., including the explanation of the word "Garaveto" (gravet) as "a gate for the entrance of a stockade."

Chapter XX.—About half of this chapter is omitted by B. LeG. has joined this chapter to chapter XIX. Ribeiro says that the Dutch placed in the Rayigam Kóralé "four hundred lascarins." LeG. has 4,000, having been misled by B., which reads "quatro sentos mil lascarins."

Chapter XXI.—B. has omitted about a fourth of this short chapter, one omission being Ribeiro's statement that General Hulft's squadron "consisted of eighteen ships and two *patachos*, in which were six thousand men of war."

Chapter XXII.—B. omits about half of this chapter. Chapters XXI. and XXII. form chapter XX. in LeG.

Chapter XXIII.—No less than seven-eighths of this chapter is omitted by B. For "Nossa Senhora da Vida" LeG. has "*nuestra Señora d'ajuda*," thus substituting Spanish for Portuguese, and converting "Our Lady of Life" into "Our Lady of Help." A good example of the utter nonsense that the writer of B. has made of Ribeiro by his omissions is found in this chapter, where LeG., following B., states that Antonio de Mello de Castro, with one hundred men, killed more than three thousand of the enemy; whereas in fact, Ribeiro says that in the assault on the battery of Santa Cruz the Dutch lost more than two thousand ("mais de dous mil"; but B., "paçante de trez mil").

Chapter XXIV.—More than three-fourths of this chapter is omitted by B., and in LeG. it is condensed into some dozen lines. The "countermine" ("contramina") of L.A. is converted in B. into a "curtain" ("cortina").

Chapter XXV.—More than five-sevenths of this chapter is omitted by B. In this and the two preceding chapters Ribeiro gives most interesting details of the siege of Colombo, and draws a terrible picture of the sufferings endured by the Portuguese from want of food and pestilence. Beside dogs, fifteen elephants were eaten, only the famous Ortelá being spared. LeG. has combined this and the two preceding chapters as chapter XXI. of his translation.

Chapter XXVI. (chapter XXII. in LeG.).—B. omits three-fourths of this chapter, including the statement that the Portuguese prisoners were sent to Negapatam. LeG. gives May 10, 1656, as the date of the evacuation of Colombo by the Portuguese; Ribeiro says that it was May 12.

Chapter XXVII. (chapter XXIII. in LeG.).—More than half of this chapter is omitted by B. In the list of persons who were present at the siege of Jaffna, LeG., following B., inserts after the name of João Botado de Seixas that of "Lançarote de Sexas," and makes Mathias Catanho (printed "Catarho") the "Vêdor da Fazenda," or Controller, instead of Leonardo de Oliveira.

BOOK III.

Chapter I.—B. omits more than a half of this chapter, and LeG. passes it by entirely, except the heading, which he has attached to chapter VIII.

Chapter II.—More than half of this chapter also is omitted by B., and the whole of it by LeG. It deals, like the first chapter, with the errors committed by the Portuguese in their conquest of India.

Chapter III.—B. omits more than three-fifths of this chapter, which LeG. has entirely left out. It treats of the whole of the Portuguese empire in India, and describes the various fortresses.

Chapter IV.—The subject of the preceding chapter is continued in this. B. omits almost the whole of this chapter, and the parts that remain are so utterly disconnected that it is no wonder that LeG. passes over it also.

Chapter V.—In this chapter Ribeiro shows that it was necessary for the Portuguese to maintain only Malacca, Ormuz, and Goa. B. omits more than three-fifths of the chapter, and LeG. omits the whole of it.

Chapter VI.—This continues the subject of the preceding chapter. About three-fourths is omitted by B., and the whole by LeG.

Chapter VII.—In this chapter Ribeiro argues that the Portuguese should have abandoned the whole of their possessions in India and occupied Ceylon exclusively. B. omits three-fourths of the chapter and LeG. the whole.

Chapter VIII.—The heading of this chapter is, "How the produce of the lands of the Island should have been gathered," but, as I have said, LeG. has substituted the heading of chapter I., and has made this a part of the first chapter of Book III. in his translation. B., from which he translates, has omitted about five-sevenths of the chapter. Ribeiro says that the king of Kandy might have exported yearly not one hundred shiploads of cinnamon, but two or three thousand; LeG. says "one or two thousand."

Chapter IX.—The subject of this chapter, according to the heading, is "The chief errors of modern times." B. omits half of the chapter, and LeG. joins his translation of the remaining half to the preceding chapter. In describing the sufferings which he endured in the service of his king in Ceylon, Ribeiro says that for eighteen years he had "marching by night and by day, going barefoot, and covered with forest leeches, always living in the jungle." Le Grand's version is that he "passed eighteen years in the woods of Ceylon, going almost naked, and torn by the thorns." The reason why he does not mention the leeches is, that B., in place of "cuberto do sanguesugos do mato," reads "cuberto de sangue cheigas do mático," which is nonsense.

Chapter X.—The heading put to this chapter by LeG. (who makes it chapter II. in his translation) is not found in Ribeiro, who simply states that it brings the work to a conclusion. Three-fifths of the chapter is omitted by B.

I have thus endeavoured to show briefly how badly Ribeiro has been treated by a careless and dishonest copyist and a not very faithful translator. A rough calculation shows that B. has omitted a good deal more than one-fourth of the original; and the editors of L.A. are therefore quite justified in saying that "we have not yet, at least, a translation of the work of João Ribeiro." Several years ago I began a translation into English of the Lisbon Academy's edition, but from want of leisure did not proceed very far; and it is as well that this was the case, for it seems that a somewhat fuller and more grammatical text of Ribeiro's work than that published by the Lisbon Academy of Sciences is in existence. Shortly before I returned to Ceylon from England in 1887, I wrote to the Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, to ask him if he could put me in the way of obtaining any information regarding Ribeiro and his work, and I received a short letter in reply, accompanied by a pamphlet, the title of which (translated) is as follows:—"Short Comparison of a Printed Work issued by the Royal Academy of Sciences, with a Manuscript of his Excellency the Visconde da Esperança on the History of the Island of Ceylon, by A. F. Barata." This pamphlet was published in Evora in 1886, and the following is a translation of it:—

I.

"In the valuable library of the Visconde da Esperança there is an important manuscript entitled *História da Ilha de Ceilão expeditada e dedicada à Magestade do Senhor Rey Dom Pedro segundo, nosso Senhor, pello capitão João Ribeiro. Fielmente copiada do seu original por hum curioso. Lisboa Anno de 1732.* It is a folio of 327 leaves.

"This copy was made by a careful and conscientious individual, who has written in an ante-prologue:—'In the choice library of José Freire Monterroy Mascarenhas there was a quarto book written and signed by João Ribeiro, which may be looked upon as the original of this author; and as such it was considered by its owner. On account of its rarity I have transcribed this copy, and in my opinion it is of equal trustworthiness, and in order that it may be so held by bibliophiles I have attached to it this statement.'

"This work was published in vol. V. of the *Noticias para a historia e geographia das nações ultramarinas*, with a different title: *Fatalidade historica da ilha de Ceilão*, &c.

"The author is referred to in the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, and more biographically in the notice that precedes the publication of the Royal Academy of Sciences.

"There is, however, much to be noticed regarding the two copies, the printed and the manuscript.

"The printed version was given to the Academy by the Cardinal Patriarch Fr. Francisco de S. Luiz, and this Society ordered it to be printed, believing it to be the very one that the author presented to D. Pedro II., notwithstanding its being written by another hand, although signed by João Ribeiro.

"From the note of the copyist of the manuscript, we gather that the original of Montarroio Mascarenhas was *written and signed* by the author, a circumstance which the more gains for it the credit that it deserves from us.

"From a comparison of the two copies, printed and manuscript, it is evident that the latter is a later work, made after the printed edition; that is, that the printed edition is a copy of the rough sketch, of the first work of the pen of the Portuguese soldier in those distant regions, written without nicety of diction, without that classicism of phrase and completeness possessed by the manuscript copy, in which can be seen the work of the study, of rest and quiet, in the better rounding off of the periods, in the pruning away of exuberances, in the expansion of deficiencies, in the infusion into the whole work of the fifteenth century flavour, which is lacking in the printed edition.

"The first part of the three into which the work is divided contains the same number of chapters, 24.

"So many and so important are the alterations in the form, that to prove this it would be necessary to reproduce faithfully these chapters, both of the printed edition and of the manuscript, a plan which, beside being lengthy, would be tedious.

"All,—the dedication, the prologue, and the chapters,—though essentially the same, has been recast. Let us look at the first chapter. The printed edition says:—'The precious island of Ceilão extends from about the sixth to the tenth degree of north latitude, that is, from Galle Point to Rocky Point [da ponta de Galle á ponta das Pedras], and is seventy-two leagues in length and forty-seven in breadth, which is the distance from Chilao to Trequimalé.'

"The manuscript referred to says:—'The precious island of Ceilão is situated in the north latitude, from 6 degrees to about 10, which [reach] from the Point of Galle to that of the

Rocks [que' da ponta da Galle thé a das pedras]: it is 82 leagues in length and 4 in breadth, which is the distance from Chilao to Trequimale; and its circumference is 190 leagues.'

"The 2nd chapter in the printed edition begins:—'It is said that this Island had seven Kingdoms; this does not surprise me, for even at the present day, on the coast of India, these people out of a limited province form a Kingdom, as we have seen on the coast of Cannará and Malavar'

"The manuscript reads:—'It is said that this island had seven Kingdoms: this does not surprise me, for on the coast of India, even at the present day, these people form a kingdom out of a limited province, as we have seen on the coast of Cannará and Malavar.'

"Here the superiority of form, the elegance of diction, are to be noted.

"In chapter VIII. is printed:—'As D. João had the Queen in his hands, he executed on her the purpose which he had secretly determined on; and which was, that then in public in the sight of all, he should deflower her, by which act he would obtain the end of his hopes in making himself King.'

"In the manuscript:—'As D. João had succeeded in getting possession of D. Catharina, he executed the purpose that he had only secretly determined on, which was to have connexion with her publicly, the only means of obtaining marriage with her and being King of her Dominions.'

"One is struck with the superiority and delicacy of phrase in the allusion to the act, from which there can remain no doubt that the manuscript under notice was amended by the author himself from the first one, which the Academy took in hand to print.

"It is well to notice the divergence of the headings of chapter XIX. Whilst that of the printed edition says that there was in the island 'a great abundance of provisions, cattle, and diseases,' that of the manuscript asserts that it had 'abundance of provisions, cattle, and few diseases,' an assertion which a perusal of the chapter, both in the printed edition and in the manuscript, fully demonstrates.

"As far as the 24th chapter of Book I. noteworthy differences are to be found, and this also contains some. The printed edition runs:—'It is not amiss to note, that this Island being, as neither with the size of Bornéo, or S. Lourenço, which in fine by the capacity of these, and extent of land, might have a similar monstrosity; but it is to be noticed, as we have shown, that the circumference of Ceilão is a little

¹ According to the usage of the writers of the period, there is the ellipse of a verb, perhaps *rão* (reach).—*Note of Sr. Barata.*

more or less in land than this our Kingdom, which has had for many ages back a people, that their trade and mode of living would appear a fabulous narrative; however, all who go to the Island have knowledge of it.' This is not very lucid, and has no grammatical smoothness. The manuscript corrects in this manner:—'It is not amiss to express surprise that this island of Ceilão not being in size like that of Burnéo, or S. Lourenço, has had for many ages back a people preserving their rites and ceremonies, the narration of which would appear fabulous to all prudent reasoning; however, none of those who should chance to live in this Island would be able to doubt the truth of this statement which I make for the satisfaction of the inquisitive mind.'

"The correction is manifest, and, as its noble possessor says, 'the printed edition is taken from the first handiwork of the author, and the manuscript from the second, already corrected by him.'

"Not only the text, as is seen, has been altered, but even the headings of the chapters; it is like a new work on the same design, from the chief title of the book to the accessory minutiae.

"This comparison seems to me sufficient for the appreciation of the first book; I shall continue the same method in the subsequent ones.

II.

"To show exactly how much the two editions differ, I shall continue to give parallels of the commencements of chapters only, as the complete transcription of these would be, as I have already stated, a reproduction of the two editions.

"The second book commences with these words:—'We have shown briefly, and in the mode in which it was possible to us, what Ceilão is and what it produces, rites, laws, and customs of that people, and everything else that we saw, experienced, and considered in eighteen years of residence.'

"The manuscript:—'We have shown in the mode in which it was possible the situation, fertility, and riches of the island of Ceilão; laws, rites, and ceremonies of its inhabitants; and everything else that we observed in the course of eighteen years that we resided there.'

"The printed chapter ends:—'. . . . that in fine all are blacks our enemies.'

"And the manuscript:—'. . . . who are always black and our enemies by nature, and only friends by necessity.'

"The printed second chapter commences:—'With the previous occurrences that we have stated, and the elder-

Prince of Candia, by name Rajá Cinga, making an incursion into our territories, in order to incite the Captain-General, as had been agreed with the Modeliares’

“This is a sort of abstruse jumble, in which grammar is wanting. Let us see what the manuscript says:—‘With the previous occurrences which we have considered, the elder Prince of Candia, called Rajatinga, [*sic*] made an incursion into our territories to incite our Captain-General, as he had agreed with the Modiliares’

“With the same ideas, the conclusion of the chapter differs in form.

“The third printed chapter begins:—‘The King of Candia Henar Pandar died, being the widower of D. Catherina.’

“In the manuscript:—‘Hanar Pandar, King of Candia, being already the widower of the Queen D. Catharina, died.’

“Thus the literary and academic work proceeds with the grammatical and linguistic correction.

“The ninth chapter opens in this manner:—‘Before we continue the narrative it is necessary for us for a better understanding that we turn back’

“‘To turn back’ is so vulgar that the author corrects in the manuscript:—‘Before we prosecute this history, for its better understanding it is necessary to retrocede’

“And the commencement of the eleventh chapter says:—‘After the Prince had been in the city ten days’

“And the manuscript:—‘After the prince had resided in this city ten days’

“And further, in the thirteenth printed:—‘After we had the territories of Sofregão all submissive’

“Correction of the apograph:—‘After we had subjected to our authority all the territories of Sofregam’

“And without going through all the chapters of the twenty-seven which the second book contains, I shall show the manner in which the last one commences:—‘The Hollanders seeing that after we had lost the city of Columbo, we brought a large force, and with it reinforced the Island of Manar, and the Kingdom of Jafanapatão, where had assembled a fleet of galleys, which had been sent to the help of Columbo by Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, who was Governor of the Dominion, through the death of the Conde de Sarzedas, Vice-Roy thereof, the Captain-Major of which was Francisco de Seixas Cabreira; and also another of twelve *sanguicels*, which the same Governor sent to Manar, and the Captain-Major of this was Manoel de Mello de Sampaio: as well as a hundred and ten soldiers and captains, whom the Hollanders had sent to Negapatão, having surrendered in Columbo, and who went as prisoners in the ships.’

“What did the Hollanders do on seeing all this? The text does not say.

"Let us look at the correction of the copy of the Visconde da Esperança.

"The Hollanders seeing, after they had taken from us the city of Columbo, that we brought a large force to the island of Mannar, and Kingdom of Janapatão, [*sic*] where had assembled the fleet of galleys which the Governor of India had sent by the Captain-Major Francisco de Sexas Cabreira; and the other of 7 *caturres*, of which Manoel de Mello Sampaio was Captain-Major; and knowing that the same Governor of India, after having been informed of the loss of Columbo, had nominated as Captain-General of the island of Ceilão Antonio d'Amaral Menezes, who actually occupied the post of Governor of that Kingdom, who informed him of the despatch of reinforcements, who might do to them what they had just done, which would not be difficult for the Portuguese whilst they continued in Janapatão, [*sic*] determined, in order to guard against the mischief that they feared, to drive us out of the island of Mannar also.'

"Here we have the verb that is wanting in the copy printed by the Academy,—'determined.'

"It is manifest, therefore, that the manuscript copy is the corrected one, which the Academy ought to have printed if it had known of its existence, and not the rough draft of the soldier, the skeleton naked of form, of literary clothing, as its scientific dignity demanded.

"Neither the edition of Montarroio Mascarenhas nor this copy of the Visconde da Esperança was known of, and in this respect the Society is free from blame. Where, however, it is not, is, in my opinion, in having ordered to be printed a work that ought to have been corrected, at least of serious faults of grammar, if not of imperfections of forms of proper names, which very possibly are not consistent in the apograph.

"It is very likely that this labour would have been disagreeable and difficult, the more so as it would have been necessary to look at the readings of Barros, Couto, Castanheda, and Gaspar Corrêa; but an Academy was bound to do so, before it printed such a work simply because it was offered to it by its member Fr. Francisco de S. Luiz, who certainly had not seen the defects and errors in it.

"They might have said that it was not their province to alter the rough original, as that would be a kind of profanation. To correct rude errors is a meritorious work, and in literary matters a good service, which has been done in so many cases in literary works to the improvement of all. Soropita did this to the lyrics of Camões, 'meddling with that which was clearly an error of the pen,' and he did quite right.

"It now remains to compare the third and last book of the work, where the alterations, the excisions, and additions are more noteworthy.

"This slight essay leaves room for a serious study on the island of Ceylon, and the verification of doctrines, proper names, dates, of everything contained in this *Historia da Ilha de Ceilão*. I have neither the time nor the knowledge to do this; and so I shall simply continue the work I have begun.

III.

"I proceed with the comparison of the two copies, beginning with the first chapter of the third part.

"The printed edition says:—'In the first book we have shown what Ceilão is, in the second the progress of that war, and for the end which we have in view, all is necessary, and before we proceed to show it with evidence, we have of necessity to make some observations, and if in these we err, many of other judgment, talent, and study fall into this infirmity.'

"In the manuscript we read:—'I showed in the first book the situation of the Island of Ceilão, what was remarkable in it, how we governed it, and the right which we have to hold it; in the second I referred to the wars which we had there with the natives and Hollanders, until we were, through the lack of reinforcements, expelled therefrom: in this I shall show the inadvertence with which care was not taken for its retention, the damage caused to us by this inconsideration, which still exists.'

"The author continues his work of perfecting and recasting the first essay.

"The second chapter commences:—'Let us pass to the third point: for the preservation of these fortresses (we speak of those of less account and utility), these had to be provided, like the rest, with captains, men who had served in that province.'

"The manuscript says:—'The third reason was the bad choice that was made of commanders for those fortified places, especially those of less utility. These ought to have been provided with captains, who might be men created in the war of the same province; not only in order to incite the rest, that by their exertions they might be worthy of those posts, but because experience taught them what was necessary for their preservation and defence.'

"Thus it continues with sufficient clearness, in regular periods, with subject, verb, and attribute, a matter in which there is a want of sequence on the part of the correlative printed edition.

"This assertion is being fully proved; meanwhile, I shall continue the comparison.

"The printed third chapter begins thus:—'As I have become confused, and got into a labyrinth [*labyrinth*] of so many fortified places, it appeared to me right, although it might be with much trouble, to give a look at all in order to know what they were, and what we derived from each, and what they produced; taking as companion on this long journey a poor speech, such as God has given me'

"And the manuscript says:—'As I have become greatly confused, having got into a labyrinth [*labyrinth*] of fortified places, it appeared to me right to refer (although with some trouble to myself) succinctly to all, what each contains, and the utility that resulted to us from their conservation, without which my discourse cannot well be understood. For traversing them all I have not desired any other companion than my rude speech, nor greater preparation than my free intellect: and with such limited provision as this I enter on the road of such a lengthy journey.'

"Thus commences the third chapter, which includes the fourth printed one, the manuscript therefore commencing with the words of the fifth printed one:—'The principal object of this our supposed journey'

"The manuscript:—'The principal ground of this our supposed peregrination'

"The printed sixth chapter opens:—'Malaca, an emporium, and a strong place by art and nature.'

"The manuscript:—'Malaca, a place equally strong by art and by nature'

"The seventh printed says:—'All that we have related being taken for granted, some excuse may well be admitted for those who peopled' &c.

"The sixth manuscript:—'All the right of excuse that the first peoplers may have had'

"The eighth printed and the seventh manuscript chapters compare as follows in their commencement:—'We have shown what are the territories of the Kingdoms of Candia, Uva,' &c. 'In the first book I showed what are the territories of the Kingdom of Candia,' &c.

"The ninth and the eighth thus:—'All things have a beginning, a growth, and a decline.' 'All things have their beginning, growth, and decline.'

"The alterations are most noteworthy at the end of the work, especially as the printed tenth chapter is once more recapitulated in the eighth and last of the manuscript, which ends with these words:—'. . . . and by this means we might have continued the government and rule of such a valuable island.'

"These words, *mutatis mutandis*, are, in the tenth chapter as printed, joined on to the last paragraph, which terminates with a list of the Governors of Ceylon as far as the sixteenth,

information which the manuscript gives separately, as I am about to show :—

1. Pedro Lopes de Sousa ;
2. D. Hieronymo d'Azevedo ;
3. D. Francisco de Menezes ;
4. D. Manoel Homem de Magalhães ;
5. D. Nuno Alvares Pereira ;
6. Constantino de Sá Noronha ;
7. Jorge de Albuquerque ;
8. Constantino de Sá Noronha, a second time ;
9. D. Jorge de Almeida ;
10. Diogo de Mello ;
11. D. Antonio Mascarenhas ;
12. Manoel Mascarenhas Homem ;
13. Francisco de Mello e Castro ;
14. D. Filippe de Mascarenhas ;
15. Francisco de Mello e Castro, a second time ;
16. Antonio d'Amaral Menezes occupied this post in Janapatão [*sic*] until we also left that place.

"This statement or list of names has in the printed original : at the 4th, Mascarenhas, and not Magalhães ; at the 12th, D. Filippe Mascarenhas ; at the 13th, Manoel Mascarenhas Homem ; at the 14th, Francisco de Mello e Castro ; and finally, at the 15th, *Antonio de Sousa Coutinho*, a name that was suppressed in the manuscript.

"To verify the correctness of these names would have been a good work, and I should have done it had I had the opportunity, and had there been in Evora the other elements necessary for the study.

"The suppression of the name of Antonio de Sousa Coutinho is based, perhaps, on what is stated in the *Descrição geral e historica das moedas*, &c., of Sr. Teixeira de Aragão, vol. 3, which on page 239 gives him as captain either of Colombo or of Ceylon for 1657; whence we may conclude that it was of Colombo, properly speaking, the capital of the island, the Governor of the whole of it being Francisco de Mello e Castro, who with him and Manoel de Mascarenhas Homem formed the gubernatorial triumvirate of India from May 22, 1656, to September 7, 1657.

"As an addition of the copyist of 1732, the manuscript ends with a *List of the Governors of India* up to 1754, a date posterior to that of the autograph copy of Montarroiio ; consequently a further proof of the copyist's statement.

"This *List* enumerates 91 Governors and Viceroys down to the Conde d'Alva, D. Luiz de Mascarenhas, even giving some who died on the voyage, such as Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, João Pereira Forjás, Affonso de Noronha, and João de Silva Tello.

"It appears to me, in concluding this rapid comparison, that I have demonstrated the superiority and excellence of the

copy of the *Historia da Ilha de Ceilão* belonging to the Visconde de Esperança over the edition printed by the Academy in 1836, with the title of *Fatalidade historica*.

"It would be worth while to print this manuscript, which rejects much that is incorrect and even erroneous in the printed edition. It should rest with the illustrious Society to do this, showing in this manner its zeal for the national history, free from inexactitudes and illiterate forms.

"An exact and minute comparison of the two editions therefore excludes the perusal of the printed one by those who shall undertake to write of our extensive conquests."

On receiving this pamphlet I wrote to Sr. Barata, from whom I learnt that the original MS. of Montarroio Mascarenhas, from which the one here noticed was copied, was destroyed in a fire : hence this copy is, in all probability, unique. .

I do not agree with all that Sr. Barata has said above in depreciation of Ribeiro's first attempt at authorship, which, though rough and ungrammatical, is more characteristic of the soldier than the later polished edition, which smacks too much of the pedantic scholar. Nor do I consider the Lisbon Academy of Sciences at all blameworthy for printing (as I suppose they have done) their MS. *verbatim et literatim*. To have acted as Sr. Barata suggests would have greatly lessened the value of the printed edition. At the same time, it is to be hoped that the Lisbon Academy of Sciences, which has already done such good service by printing the valuable works of Gaspar Corrêa, Duarte Barbosa, and other old Portuguese writers, will publish a new edition of Ribeiro, with critical notes showing where the two versions differ, and with a good index, such as the editors of Gaspar Corrêa have appended to that work. The Academy should also institute a search for the MS. of Philip Botelho's "Guerras de Uva," which Le Grand utilised in preparing his translation of Ribeiro, and which has since disappeared from view. If this can be found it should also be published. Another rare work used by Le Grand, viz., João Rodrigues de Sá e Menezes' account in Spanish of his father's disastrous expedition

against the Siphalese, is, I am glad to say, now being translated for our Society by one of its Members, two copies of the curious volume, published at Lisbon in 1681, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, having lately been added to the Society's library. The references to Ceylon in the work of Gaspar Corrêa, which I have mentioned above, are not very numerous, but are interesting and valuable, especially so being his account of the building of the first Portuguese fort at Colombo, of which place he gives a curious but faithful drawing. These passages should also be translated into English.* The Portuguese and Dutch writers on Ceylon have been far too much neglected hitherto, but I am glad to find that in the case of the latter at least one gentleman is displaying the most praiseworthy activity in the matter of translation. I hope that others will follow his example, and that ere many years are past all the most valuable of the Portuguese and Dutch, as well as French and German, narratives of the past history of our Island will be available in an English form.

Postscript.—While this Paper is passing through the press I learn that the following MSS. of Ribeiro's work are in the Bibliotheca Nacional at Lisbon:—

"Ribeiro (Capitão João)—*Fatalidade historica da ilha de Ceilão*. Dedicated to D. Pedro II. Original, dated 1685. B-8-31.

"The same work, with the title *Historia de Ceilam*. Slight variations. B-8-43.

"By the same author—*Prosequimento da historia de Ceilaõ*. B-8-44."

The custodian of the Library, Sr. D. Jose Pessanha, who furnishes this list, adds a note as follows:—"These works of João Ribeiro were published in 1836 by the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon." This, however, is not quite correct, as only the first-mentioned MS. seems to have been printed.

* Since the above was written the writer has himself supplied this want in the pages of the *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. III.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF MĒDAMAHANUWARA.

By J. H. F. HAMILTON, Esq., C.C.S.

(Read July 26 and Dec. 28, 1888.)

I.—*The Māligāwa.*

THE ancient highway from Kandy to Bintenna proceeded from the south-eastern extremity of the city, skirted the right bank of the Mahaweli-ganga for three miles, crossed the river by a ferry at Kuṇḍasāle, and thence diverged from the river's path through the fertile valleys of Pāta-Dumbara to Teldeniya. From this point the modern road closely follows the ancient track. Crossing the Huḷu-ganga at Teldeniya, fifteen miles out of Kandy to the east, the road turns sharply to the right, runs parallel for two miles with the Huḷu-ganga, and then turning to the left near the junction of the Huḷu-ganga with the Guru- (Galmal) oya, follows closely the right bank of the latter stream for two and a quarter miles through an unhealthy and uninhabited valley. After passing the Guru-oya by a bridge close to the ancient crossing, it climbs the hill to Urugala and Mīriyahéna (the Nugétenna gap), which lie beneath the shadow of the Mēdamahanuwara-kanda, and thence descends by tortuous ways (the last part of the descent being formerly accomplished by the *Galpaḍihela*) for twenty miles, until the Mahaweli-ganga is again reached at Wéragama. Here there is a ferry boat, which will land the traveller on the opposite bank of the river in the ancient city of Alutnuwara in Bintenna—the Mahiyaggana of legendary and historic fame. The modern road is now open for cart traffic beyond Mīriyahéna, and is being gradually extended by a circuitous route through the Gapdeka. The ancient road was nothing more than a narrow track.

It is upon this route, as might be anticipated, that the most interesting remains of ancient times in Dumbara are to be found. Such are the palace of Kuṇḍasāle, the Galvihāra of Bambaragala, and, most important of all, the traces of the old town of Meḍamahanuwara, which in the past gave its name to the neighbouring hill, and in more modern days to a once flourishing coffee district.

Meḍamahanuwara was situated on both sides of the Guru-oya, within a mile of Urugala. The Guru-oya divides Meḍasiya-pattuwa from Uḍasiya-pattuwa South—a division established some forty years ago by the English Government. Formerly, however, Meḍasiya-pattuwa included a portion of what is now Uḍasiya-pattuwa South, and hence, though some of the remains are comprised within the latter division, the whole of them lie within the ancient limits of Meḍasiya-pattuwa. The name of Meḍamahanuwara is probably derived from Meḍasiyapattuwa, the city having taken the distinguishing name of the political division within which it stood—still another explanation of the name is also possible. “The middle great city” may have been so called from its position on the route midway and almost equidistant from Mahanuwara on the one hand and Aḷutnuwara on the other.

Though Meḍamahanuwara can lay claim to no such hoary antiquity or colossal structures as those “happy hunting grounds” of the archaeologist in the North-Central Province and the Māgam-pattuwa, there still linger in it some interesting remains of the *régime* which preceded British rule in the Kandyan districts. Of these remains, I ascribe the foremost place to the ruins of the *Māligāwa*, not that they appear to be first in point of time, or exhibit any special architectural features, but because, firstly, they were the royal residence, and secondly, the materials available for a description of the *Māligāwa* are more exact than for any other building.

The site of the *Māligāwa* is well defined by certain containing walls, which will be hereafter described, though the superstructure, with the exception of a few fragments of tiles, three large blocks of stone at the north-west corner,

and two flights of stone steps, has entirely disappeared. It is situated in, and indeed forms a part of, a paddy field sloping towards the left bank of the Guru-oya. On the occasion of my last visit the field was under cultivation, and the tender rice was shooting in several inches of water within the precincts of what was once a royal palace. The work of measurement having to be accomplished from the narrow ridges, was attended with some difficulty and the risk of partial immersion at every step.

The plan of the palace buildings was rectangular. They faced the south, and were approached from that quarter by two broad stairs comprising seventeen stone steps. At the foot of the upper flight, and surrounding the palace proper, stood the straw-thatched lines of the king's guards. The steps conducted to an open space, which formed a compound running round the four sides of the main central building between it and the lines of the guards. From the compound there rose another and smaller flight of stone steps, conducting to the verandah of the central edifice and its principal entrance. The three stairs are in a line with one another, and stand immediately in the front and centre of the southern side of the palace. A verandah supported by carved wooden pillars encompassed the central building, which was the palace proper, the quarters of the king. At the north-west corner, situated in the encircling compound, was the *Niráwiya*, and on the north side, also in the compound, a tamarind tree, which is still flourishing, spread a grateful shade. The walls of the main building were of chiselled stone, and the roof was covered with tiles, and rose on the four sides to a central ridge running east and west.

For the above description of the external appearance of the Máligáwa I am indebted to Iḍamégedara Mēddumarāla Kórāla, an intelligent headman of some eighty years of age, who remembers having seen it, when it was still standing, in his youth. From the same source I have also gathered that the palace was erected by the king, who was styled by the honorific title of "Mēdalassé Budu-vechcha Deviyō," between

whom and Śrī Vikrama Rāja Siḥa, the last king of Kandy, there were two reigns, and that it fell into ruin about the year A.D. 1820. It thus appears probable that the palace was built about A.D. 1740 by Śrī Vijaya Rāja Siḥa, who was also known as "Haḡguraḡketa," from the palace built by him at that place. There is however a vague tradition connecting Meḍamahanuwara with Śrī Vira Parākrama Narendra Siḥa, better known as "Kuṇḡasāle," the king who preceded Śrī Vijaya Rāja Siḥa, and reigned from A.D. 1706 to 1739. As Kuṇḡasāle is known to have built a palace at the place from which he derived his eponym, and also the Nāta Dēwāle at Kandy, it is not improbable that the Māligāwa of Meḍamahanuwara should also be added to the list of his works. Whether it was built in the reign of Haḡguraḡketa or Kuṇḡasāle thus appears doubtful, but it is at least certain that it was built in the reign of either one or the other, subsequently to A.D. 1706 and prior to A.D. 1747.

The palace was used as a halting-place on the royal journeys between Kandy and Bintenna, and for brief occasional visits extending over one or, at the most, two weeks. Except for the few months that the Dutch occupied Kandy in the reign of Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siḥa, it does not appear to have ever served as a permanent residence, but the visits were probably frequent, as, besides being on the route to Alutnuwara and Bintenna, it was also on the way to the *gabaḡāgam*, or royal villages, of Haḡwella and Mahawela.

With regard to the interior of the Māligāwa I have not been able to gather any information, beyond the fact that there were no windows—a negative feature common to native houses in general.

It has been mentioned that the Māligāwa was built on ground sloping towards the bed of the Guru-oya. Hence it will be understood that on the southern and western sides the open compound was on a slightly lower level than the palace proper, and the huts of the guards were on a still lower level than the compound. Hence also the necessity for the flights of steps on the south. On these sides (the

south and west) the ground had to be raised for the site, and contained by masonry walls. These walls, which clearly indicate the plan and dimensions of the palace, still remain, and, especially on the southern side, are in a fair state of preservation. They are built of stones rudely shaped by the mason's chisel, intermingled here and there with round stones from the river bed. Now in the crevices, lantana and other jungle growths have found a home.

There are three walls to the south. The length of the third and outermost, which appears to have supported the ground on which the guards' houses stood, is now 143 ft., but the wall appears to have slipped away at its extremities, and to have been originally of greater length. Its height is 5 ft. The second wall, which supported the compound, is 143 ft. 8 in. long and 8 ft. high. The innermost wall, which supported the palace proper, is 105 ft. long and 5 ft. high. On the west there are also three walls remaining, namely, the wall which supported the palace proper, 76 ft. 2 in. long; a wall supporting on the west the southern portion of the compound, 38 ft. 8 in. long; and a short wall 18 ft. in length to the southern site of the guards' houses. These measurements show the superficial area of the palace proper to have been 105 ft. by 76 ft. 2 in.; the breadth of the compound on the front and south side to have been 38 ft. 8 in., and exactly half this breadth (19 ft. 4 in.) on the west; and the site of the guards' houses on the south to have been 15 ft. in breadth.

The large blocks of stone at the north-west corner, which I have above referred to, are believed to have formed part of the *Nirāviya*. One of them has had a groove cut in the centre. Two of them have been removed from their original position in the compound to the site of the palace proper, where they now form a portion of a small watercourse. The cubic measure of the largest stone is about 19½ ft.

The ground on which the palace stood was sold by the English Government, about sixty years ago, to the late Raṭe-mahatmayā of Māmpitiya, by whom it was resold to

Maḍugallé Raṭémahatmayá, who in his turn resold it about fifteen years ago to the present owner, Migahakoṭuwé Appu Gurunnehé. It was asweddumised and converted into a paddy field about eight years ago.

On the left bank of the Guru-oya, below the Máligáwa, may be seen a pool stiller and deeper than the rest of the stream. Here was the king's bathing-place, and there yet remains a low stone wall on the bank from which his majesty was wont to feed the fishes. It was forbidden to catch fish here, and the prohibition was enforced by the headmen, and generally observed for many years even after the British occupation of the country.

The subject of this Paper is of comparatively recent date. Tradition however relates that it was built to replace a still older Máligáwa, which stood near the *Vidiya* of Meḍamahanuvara, and was known as the *Kóngaha-yāṭa Máligáwa*; and there are not wanting remains in the neighbourhood which date from a time anterior to the foundation of the Máligáwa which I have attempted to describe. Such are the remains existing on the adjacent grounds of the *Viháré-watta* and *Maḍamé-watta*, the *Vidiya*, and last, but not least in importance, the royal city of refuge, *Galé-nuvara*, on the summit of the neighbouring hill. There is very little precise information to be obtained about these localities, but from such scanty materials as I may be able to collect, I hope to furnish at some future time a second Paper on the antiquities of Meḍamahanuvara; and I may here remark in advance that the foundation, both of the *Viháré* and *Galé-nuvara*, is attributed to king Senarat, who reigned from A.D. 1627 to 1634; and as I have been unable to discover any traditions relating to an earlier time, I am inclined to fix this reign as the one in which the locality of Meḍamahanuvara first derived its name and connection with Siphalese royalty.

The accompanying sketch¹ of the Máligáwa as it is

¹ Not reproduced.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

believed to have existed has been furnished by Mr. J. V. G. Jayawardana, the Interpreter of the Papwila and Urugala Courts.

II.—*Viháréwatta, Maḍaméwatta, Ira-handa-koṭāpu-gala, Vidiya, and Galénuwara.*

Adjoining the site of the Máligáwa is the *Viháréwatta*, which derives interest from its having been the last but one of the many resting-places of the Daḷadá,—the national palladium,—prior to its removal to the Kandy Máligáwa in the reign of Kírti Śrí Rája Siṅha. The Daḷadá was enshrined at Maḍamahanuwara during the reign of king Kuṇḍasāle. It was thence removed to the Piṭigoḍa Vihāre in the Gampaha division of Uḍa Dumbara, and thence to Kandy.

The original Vihāre was replaced about forty years ago on the same site by the present one of mean and unpretending structure. The walls of this are of mud, and the roof is thatched, but the massive wooden door and doorway are part of the old building, as also the carved pillars of the verandah, and the small moonstone, void of ornamentation, that faces the entrance. Scattered around are several chiselled stones, which appear to have belonged to the old Vihāre, and amongst them a broad and smooth flagstone, which stood in front of the original building and was used for the priests to lave their feet upon before entering into the sacred presence of the relic. Facing the Vihāre is the Pánsala, the residence of the priest; but the priest is seldom to be found. The Vihāre is closed, and, I believe, empty, the *karaṇḍuwa* in which the relic was enclosed having been removed to a private house for safe custody, after the bottom of it, which contained a “sannas” (grant), had been lost or stolen.

The only objects of veneration now remaining in the *Viháréwatta* are two Bó trees. One of them, standing to the left as the garden is entered from the upper side, is of great size and apparently great age. It measures 25 ft. in circumference round the stem at a foot from the earth.

The other is a smaller one, standing on the site of an older and more venerable tree which fell down four years ago, and was honoured with cremation. A charred fragment of the deceased tree may still be seen. Communicating between the two trees are the remains of some stone steps, the ground declining towards the bed of the Guru-oya. There are no inscriptions. One stone only bore some floral carving of stiff geometrical designs, and was doubtless intended to receive offerings of flowers. Formerly, and up to within the last thirty or forty years, the garden was a great resort of pilgrims. Now the shrine is deserted, and there is but an occasional pilgrim on "poya" days. All the surroundings of the place bear an air of semi-abandonment and neglect. The glory has departed, but the sacred trees continue to flourish, and their worship still lives on, the one sign of care and attention recently bestowed being a rude attempt to restore the wall of the terrace where stood the older tree.

Maḍaméwatta is lower down the stream on the right bank. It was formerly the place of residence of the priests of the Vihāre, and contained besides a small cave dedicated to the goddess Pattini, and a small *Déwālé* dedicated to Kataragama Deviyo. It has been completely abandoned, and is now overgrown with jungle and lantana.

I visited the cave; the entrance is extremely narrow. With some difficulty, for cobras are supposed to keep a jealous guard, I persuaded a Kandyan attendant to enter the cave. His description gave it a glamour of magnitude and mystery that determined me to explore its wonders for myself. After the entrance had been enlarged a little by a crowbar I succeeded, by assuming a horizontal attitude, in squeezing myself in. I then found myself inside a cavern with fissures running in several directions, but so small that I could scarcely stand upright, whilst to explore the fissures required a mode of progression similar to that of the fictitious guardians of the place. While in this uncomfortable attitude a bat, startled by the intrusion, flew against the lighted candle, and left me in the dark. The cave contains nothing

of interest except a few stalactites, and I do not believe it ever contained any objects of worship. Certain it is there were no visible signs of Pattini past or present. The story of the goddess was probably a pious fraud of some Kapurála, who imposed upon the credulity of the people and turned their superstition to his own advantage. The narrowness of the entrance and the dreaded wrath of the cobra rendered his sham *arcana* tolerably safe from detection.

The Déwálé of Kataragama was a very small affair. Only its foundations, now overgrown with lantana, remain. Here again I met with a marked exhibition of the superstitious reverence of the natives for the cobra,—a superstition which I have always found to exist in connection with the déwálas of the Hindú gods, and never with the relic shrines of Buddha. I think this worthy of note, as it appears opposed to the conclusions of Sir J. Fergusson that Buddhism and Nága-worship are closely allied and essentially of Turanian origin, whilst the A'ryan development of Hindúism exhibits only such traces of Nága-worship as have been imparted by contact with Turanians. The old Déwálé on Maḍaméwatta was replaced by a building now standing in the Vídiya of Mēdamahanuwara, of which I shall have occasion to speak presently. But the modern Déwála is always closed, and appears forsaken. The decay of the old religions in these parts is very marked. It would almost seem as if the Old World worship of the Tree and the Serpent was about to survive them all.

Close to the river bed on Maḍaméwatta is a large inscribed stone, of which a copy was made by Mr. J. V. G. Jayawardana. The carvings are mostly symbolic. They portray a trident spear in the centre,—the peculiar weapon of the god Kataragama, the Siphalese equivalent of Kártikéya, the Indian Maṛṣ. On the left of this trident is a small circle symbolising the sun, and below it a chank. On the right a half circle representing the moon, and below it a *siṅha* and a smaller chank. These carvings are subscribed by the Tamil words குமாரசின் தேய்யா மாடம், *Kumárasin téyyá mádam*, which

I conceive to mean "the niche at which Prince Kumárasipha lights his lamp, and worships," *mádam* signifying "a small hole in a wall to keep lamps," used especially with reference to Hindú temples and worship, and *téyyá* being a translation of the Siphalese *deviyó*, the ordinary appellation arrogated by the reigning monarchs and independent princes of the royal blood.

The inscription was no doubt the work of a Brahmin priest from Southern India. Not only the characters and words, but also the form of the sipha, strongly suggest a Tamil origin, and as it is probable that Brahmins officiated at the déwálas patronised by royalty, the foreign character of the inscription is easily accounted for, the Brahmin caste having no representatives amongst the natives of Ceylon. I think it well to point out, as a mistake might easily arise, that the name of Maḍaméwatta contains no reference to the *mádam* of the inscription, but was so called from its having been the place of residence of the priests of the Pattini and Kataragama Déwálés, and apparently of the Buddhist priests attached to the neighbouring Viháre (Siphalese *mádam*, Tamil *mádam*).

The only Kumárasipha who figures in the Siphalese annals was the prince of Uva. He was the son of Vimala Dharmma by Dona Catharina, whose strange eventful history is well known. After Vimala Dharmma's death, his brother Senarat became the husband of Dona Catharina and the guardian of the young Kumárasipha, and before his death divided the kingdom into three parts, assigning Uva to Kumárasipha. There seems no reason to doubt that this is the personage to whom the inscription refers.

If the hypothesis is correct, it affords some ground for supposing that Mēdamahanuwara may have belonged to the old principality of Uva—a conclusion which derives support from the fact, that the principality is known to have embraced the strip of territory below the *Galpadihēla* between the hills and the left bank of the Mahawēli-ganga which now forms the boundary between the Central and Uva Provinces.

The *Vidiya* of Mēdamahanuwara is, as its name denotes,

a street with houses and other buildings on either side. It is situated close to the ancient crossing of the Guru-oya, on the right bank of the stream, immediately below the modern cart-road and within a short distance of the bridge. It is said to date from the reign of Vimala Dharmma, who ruled from A.D. 1592 to 1627, and though now upwards of two and a half centuries have passed away since its foundation, it still retains the distinctive characteristics of its name, and continues to be the residence of a few families. It was here that Vimala Dharmma established a lock-up, which gained an evil notoriety, as a means of extortion in the hands of the subordinate officers of the Government. Here also stood the *Kōngaha-yāta Māligāwa*, the residence to which I have previously referred as being antecedent to the more recent building described in my first Paper. The gaol was standing at the beginning of this century, but now no trace remains of its existence except on the opposite side of the street some parts of the foundation of the house, where dwelt the *Rēkavallu* or Prison-guards. The present inhabitants of the Vidiya are known by the designation of *Katupullō* or Constables, a name which indicates their descent from persons who held offices in connection with the gaol. There is nothing worthy of detailed description in the modern Vidiya. The most conspicuous building is the *Dēwālē* of Kataragama, built after the collapse of the temple on the adjacent *Maḍamēwatta*; and next in importance to it is the "ambalam," whose pillars of *milila* wood, carved with figures of the lotus and conventional trees and flowers, are said to have been removed by the villagers from the room of the queen at the *Māligāwa*. There used to be an annual *perahera* at the Vidiya, on which occasions an image of Kataragama was paraded with an accompaniment of tom-toms and torches, but this too, with the other religious institutions of the place, has fallen into disuse and discontinuance.

The peak of *Meḍamahanuwara* guards, as it were, the defile through *Mīriyahēna*, or the *Nugētēna* gap, between the Kandy country and *Bintēna*. It rises to an elevation of

4,372 feet, is precipitous on the north and west, but easy of ascent from the south. On its summit king Senarat built *Galé-nuwara*, a rock-fortress intended to serve as a place of refuge for the kings of Kandy when hard pressed by the invasions of the Portuguese. The fort was on an extended scale, and though now its remains have been defaced by the hand of time, and overgrown with jungle, alone they are still worth the labour of the climb, and combined with the lovely view over the sleeping vale of Dumbara and its guardian hills they afford a picnicing ground than which there is none better in the Island. It was on such an occasion that I, in company with two friends from neighbouring estates, the Raṭémahatmayá of the district and Mr. Jayawardana, was so fortunate as to make acquaintance with Senarat's airy citadel.

Starting from the magistrate's house at Urugala, we passed round the southern base of the mountain through several abandoned estates, and commenced the ascent at the old Doḍaṅgala estate. After climbing for about half an hour over loose gravelly soil almost bare of vegetation, we arrived at the edge of the jungle which envelops the mountain's crest. Here we saw the remains of what had once been a substantial stone building near a running stream of water, called by our guides the *Haḷu-pé*, or Dhoby's house. Its walls and dimensions, however, were of such a pretentious character that it is not at all likely the building was ever a dhoby's residence, and I think that it was intended for a halting-place, where the king might rest on his fatiguing journeys up and down the hill, the dhoby having his establishment close by, and providing a customary change of raiment for his majesty. The journey onwards and upwards was through the forest up a steep path cleared for our party under the directions of a headman. As we approached the summit we came across two cuttings on the hill-side, which, though they contained no water, had originally been fosses. At one of them was a stone wall supporting the opposite bank, and in the wall was an

opening intended as an embrasure for a cannon. The cannon had disappeared, but the timber beam of *halmilla*, after two centuries and a half of exposure to wind and rain and attacks of the insect kind, still lay across the top of the opening. The opposite walls of the fosses were perpendicular, and we had to clamber up as best we could with the aid of jungle roots. A little further on we passed, wonderful to relate, a spring of fresh water, and a few steps still further brought us to the summit of the peak. This is crowned with an oblong stone building, the thick walls of which are still standing, though the roof has fallen in. We climbed on to the walls, startling as we did so a jungle-hen, who flew away, deserting her nest and eggs. Then we were rewarded for our pains by a fine view in the Hunasgiriya direction. We spent some time in exploring the locality, finding everywhere on the southern and eastern slopes the remains of mouldering walls, by which the steep hill-sides had been shaped and fashioned into battlements and bastions and escarpments, after the manner of a western mediæval castle. On the north and west were sheer precipices, which rendered access impossible and artificial defences unnecessary. On the northern side tradition relates the existence of a cave, which, being approached from above by means of a chain suspended from the rock, formed, when the chain was withdrawn, a sure and impenetrable hiding-place.

The remains of the stronghold are scattered about an area of several acres; and for the three-fold reason, that they are on so large a scale, our time was limited, and the ground is steep and covered with dense jungle, I am unable to enter into any more detailed description of the plan of the fortress than has been suggested by the foregoing notes.

In recent times cannon and stone cannon-balls have been found, including a bar-shot, and we hunted about with some curiosity for souvenirs of this description. But in this we were disappointed, all such relics of the past having been appropriated by former "picnicers" and the denizens of the neighbouring villages, who have realised Scripture, not indeed

by turning swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, but in a still more practical manner, by melting down the cannon and converting the iron into mamoties.¹

As this paper on Meḍamahanuwara has been compiled without regard to chronological order of the several buildings and localities, a brief summary of the history of the district will here be given, so far as I have been able to glean it from the only available source,—popular tradition.

I have stated above that the reign of Senarat was probably the time in which Meḍamahanuwara first became frequented by Siphalese royalty, but further inquiry has revealed that the first king whose name is mentioned in connection with the place is Vimala Dharmma (A.D. 1592–1627). The Vīdiya with the lock-up, and the first Māligāwa, may be said to date from his reign. The succeeding king Senarat (A.D. 1627–1634) built the citadel of Galénuwara as a stronghold against the Portuguese, between whom and the kings of Kandy there existed a continual warfare; and to the same king I also ascribe the religious establishments of the Vihāréwatta and Maḍaméwatta. During Senarat's lifetime the kingdom was subdivided, and it has been suggested that Meḍamahanuwara belonged to the portion of Kumārasipha, the prince of Uva. Kumārasipha did not long survive Senarat, and at his death his possessions, and amongst them Meḍamahanuwara, reverted to Rāja Sipha the second, the tyrant described by Robert Knox. The second Māligāwa was built probably by Naréन्द्रa Sipha (A.D. 1706–1739). During this king's reign the Daḷadā was enshrined in the Vihāréwatta, whence it was removed to the Piṭigoda Vihāre, where it remained until it was finally removed to the Kandy Māligāwa in the reign of Kīrti Śrī Rāja Sipha (A.D. 1747–1780), after the evacuation of Kandy by the Dutch. In 1815 Śrī Wikrama Rāja Sipha made for Galénuwara on the invasion of his country and the occupation of his capital by the British forces. Accompanied by two of his wives he arrived in the evening at Uḍupitiyé-

¹ See note B.—*Hon. Sec.*

gedara, the residence of Appurála, A'rachchi of Bombura, situated near the foot of Mēdamahanuwara-kanda. Thence he sought to take refuge in a cave on the mountain side, but being overtaken by darkness and torrents of rain he missed his way, and returned in sorry plight to Uḍupitiyē-gedara. Here he passed the night, and the next morning (February 17) a party of the British having come up under the guidance of the friendly chief Eknēligoḍa, the three royal personages were seized and stripped of their jewellery and carried captives into Kandy. The Uḍupitiya family still lives in Bombura, the present occupant of Uḍupitiyē-gedara being a great grandson of the A'rachchi at whose house the king was caught. The site of the original house, the actual scene of the capture, is easily traced, and lies beneath the shade of an ancient tamarind and a *sūriya* tree. Near it is another house called Uḍa-gedara, on the site of an older building of the same name, where the English soldiers who accompanied Eknēligoḍa's party were quartered. I visited these places, and it was not without interest that I looked upon the scenes where, after a chequered history of 2,122 years, the last act was played in the drama of Sinhalese monarchy.

NOTE A.¹

Mēdamahanuwara was a place of refuge, and was so used by many of the Kandyan kings during internal dissensions and at the time of their wars against the Portuguese and Dutch.

King Senarat, who reigned from A.D. 1627 to 1634, embellished the place by erecting the rock fortress Galé-nuwara, a royal palace, and a Daḷadā temple, as the following translations of two extracts from the *Rājāvaliya* and *Siyamōpasāmpadāwata* will show :—

Rājāvaliya.—"King Senevirat retired to the city which he had built at Kalagatwatta in Malepane. Having afterwards erected the fortress Galé-nuwara in Mēdamahanuwara, he publicly held court there. He had three sons, viz., princes Rāsip, Vijayapāla, and Kumārasipha.

¹ By N. don M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe, Assistant Librarian of the Colombo Museum.

Siḡhalaya (the hilly portion of the Island) was divided by king Senevirat into three parts, and each son was assigned a part. The eldest, prince Rāsiḡ, was crowned king of Bintenna and Alutnuwara."

Siyamīpasampadāwata.—"King Sēnāratna ordered the erection of temples for the Daḷadā relic (*Daḷadū mundira*) in several of the mountain fortresses, such as Mēdamahanuwara, and the Daḷadā relic which had been receiving the customary adorations at Śrīwardhanapura was ordered to be taken to those various temples, where constant and similar devotions should be paid to it.

"Having taken his chief queen and all his harem, as well as the royal princes, and carrying his hereditary treasures, he fled to Mahiyagana, where he resided in a palace in the vicinity of the Mahiyagana chetiya."

It is stated in the *Rājāvaliya* that king Śiri Vira Narēndra Siḡha or Kuṇḍasālē (great grandson of Senarat, 1706-39) escaped to this city. Mēdamahanuwara, owing to a conspiracy having been formed by his ministers for his dethronement and assassination.

NOTE B.

Extract from a Report made to the Hon. the Government Agent, Kandy.

Nilgala Walawwa, June 16, 1889.

No stone cannon balls are now to be found on the top of Mēdamahanuwara peak. They have been from time to time removed by the villagers for various purposes.

Last year I went up to the top with Mr. Hamilton, then Police Magistrate, in search of some remains of its antiquity, but returned unsuccessful. Since I have sent up my headmen, with no better result.

I have, however, been able to procure three stone balls found in the possession of villagers of Bomburē, at the foot of the peak, and said to be some of those that have been found on the peak.

H. P. RAMBUKWELLA,
Raṭēmahatmayā.



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“The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religion, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology, Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology.”

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Introduction to a History of the Industries of Ceylon.— By GEORGE WALL, Esq., F.L.S., F.R.A.S., Vice-President	328
Ancient Industries of Ceylon.—By GEORGE WALL, Esq., F.L.S., F.R.A.S., Vice-President 	350
A Collection of Notes on the Attack and Defence of Colombo, in the Island of Ceylon, given over to the English on February 16, 1796.—Translated from the French of MONSIEUR DE LA THOMBE (<i>Voyage aux Indes Orientales</i>) by the late Colonel the Hon. A. B. FYERS, R.E., Surveyor-General of Ceylon ...	365

ERRATUM.

At page 397 *omit* the two signatures A. K. KORDEERT and J. M. JARTHOLOMEUSZ.

JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
CEYLON BRANCH.

INTRODUCTION TO A HISTORY OF THE
INDUSTRIES OF CEYLON.

BY GEORGE WALL, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., VICE-PRESIDENT.

(Read October 4, 1888.)



THE fact that important changes have taken place in regard to the local industries of the Island in the past suggests that a review of their history with reference to their present condition and future prospect would probably prove useful as well as interesting.

Much has already been done by previous writers, and especially by the indefatigable compilers of the "Ceylon Handbook and Directory," to show the present state and recent progress of local enterprises; but much remains to be said respecting the causes which led to the condition in which the British found them. These did not fall within the scope of that useful work, but have a special interest of their own and will amply repay the attention necessary to follow their operation.

The nature and development of all industrial pursuits depend, to a considerable extent, upon certain conditions and economic principles which are largely independent of those natural resources, the primary importance of which is so obvious as to generally obtain for them a degree of regard, even beyond what they really deserve. A due consideration of those factors is therefore necessary to a right understanding of existing industries ; and if they be overlooked and natural resources only be considered, much misapprehension may arise, of which some remarkable examples will be adduced in the sequel. In order to discuss those principles fully, much more space would be required than could be given within the compass of this Paper, but it is necessary to review them briefly in so far at least as they bear upon the course of industry in this Island.

It may be premised that in every community in which agriculture is carried on, however primitive its constitution may be, the cultivators of the land produce a surplus, of greater or less extent, over and above their own primary requirements. In other words, the produce of the land exceeds, to some extent, the necessary consumption of the labourers employed. The proportion of the surplus so arising and the manner of its disposal are important factors in determining the development and progress of industry. The former depends very much upon the natural resources of the country and upon the local advantages it may possess, such as facilities of transport, access to markets, &c. The latter is dependent upon the character and aims of the ruling powers, the disposition of the people, and the relations which subsist between the workers and the powers that direct and control their sinew.

Wheresoever the surplus accumulates, and wealth accrues, the fact affords evidence of the capabilities of the country ; but, on the other hand, the absence of accumulated wealth is no criterion of poverty of resource, inasmuch as the total income may be, and not unfrequently is, consumed, either by the State or the people, not in the necessities of life, but

in various forms of luxury, waste, and war. The rulers may and often do expend the surplusage in pomp and pageantry, in displays of regal and monumental splendour, in religious ceremonials and in court luxury. And the people, if they have the means, may lack the inducement to thrift. *In such cases capital will not be created nor material progress made.*

In some countries accumulated wealth has proved to be so great a source of danger that it has been sedulously avoided, lest it should attract the predatory incursions of powerful neighbours ; or it has been protected at prodigious cost.

Hence China endeavoured to guard its territory and possessions by constructing one of the greatest works ever achieved by man, a wall of over 2,000 miles in length, which probably absorbed more labour and material than all the pyramids of Egypt together. The immense armaments of Europe in the present day, with the vast expenditure necessary for their maintenance, have the same object, and in like manner consume a large portion of the national surplusage unproductively.

Wealth offers the strongest and one of the commonest inducements for aggressions of one country upon another, and for the oppression of the weaker by the more powerful classes of the people. It is, however, in regard to individuals rather than to collective bodies that the danger of possessing wealth operates most influentially in preventing the accumulation of capital. Under native rule, it was not safe for any private individual in this country to possess riches, as they were certain to be seized by the ruler, or by his more unscrupulous officials in his name. Knox says that the Siphalese will do "only what their necessities force them to do, that is, to get food and raiment. Yet in this I must a little vindicate them, for what indeed should they do with more than food and raiment, seeing as their estates increase so do their taxes also ! And although the people be generally covetous, spending but little, scraping together what they can, yet such is the Government they are under, that they

are afraid to be known to have anything lest it be taken away from them."

The Government thus referred to was that of the native King of Kandy, amongst whose subjects Knox passed the twenty years of his captivity, living as one of themselves, and therefore knowing their ideas, habits, and feelings more intimately than any other of their European historians. Under the circumstances thus described, industry would not only be useless but injurious. In later times the officers of Mohamet Ali's government in Egypt habitually employed the bastinado to extort levies from people whom they suspected of having secret possessions. Thus the mere suspicion of their having any spare means exposed the Egyptian fellaheen to penalties which are generally reserved for the punishment of convicted criminals. Industry, in such case, would only aggravate extortion; self-denial and thrift, the virtues which elsewhere insure wealth and create capital, incur the penalties of crime. The truest wisdom and policy of labourers so treated is to leave nothing unconsumed that could attract the State inquisitor and his armed retinue. *The material progress of such a people is impossible, and demoralisation inevitable.*

Hence it appears that though the natural resources of a country and its means of creating surplusage may exist abundantly, its material advancement does not depend upon the extent of wealth so arising, but upon the way it accrues, and the manner in which it is employed; whether, in fact, it be consumed in luxury, or wasted otherwise unproductively; or whether, on the other hand, it be converted into capital for developing the resources and economising the means of the country.

The ruins of Yucatan, the remains of Nineveh, the pyramids of Egypt, and the irrigation works of Ceylon, all afford striking evidence of the great natural resources of those countries at the time when these works were constructed; and each contains a chapter of local history, which may be read in the nature and purposes of the structures themselves.

Much may thereby be learnt respecting the condition of the people and the character of the rulers of those times.

Probably Egypt is the most remarkable example in the world's history of the profusion of natural resources. There, in fact, little is left for the labourer to do but to reap and garner the harvests for which the soil is prepared and tilled by the fertilising floods of its great artery, the Nile. These bring every year fresh soil from the mountains of the interior and spread them over the sunny surface of the country, ready to receive the seed from the husbandman, who follows the retreating waters in his punt. So lavish has nature been of her bounties there that notwithstanding the waste involved in the stupendous monumental edifices that still stand to attest it, the national wealth sufficed beside for the construction of one of the grandest examples of economic engineering the world has ever produced, the river of Joseph. By its means was the Nilotic alluvium extended artificially over an area almost equal to that of its natural reach. The ruins of this marvellous work, like those of our own magnificent tanks, are eloquent witnesses of the results of the arbitrary proceedings of despots, and of the consequences of their unchecked control of a country's sinew and resources.

In strong contrast to these instances of the profusion of natural resources and the waste or neglect committed by those who controlled them, may be cited that of the British nation, where surplusage has been obtained under comparatively adverse conditions, and where, nevertheless, the fruits of labour have so accrued, in accordance with true economic principles, that capital has accumulated to an extent greater than that of the nations most highly favoured by nature, and has raised the country to an unrivalled pitch of industrial wealth and glory. The production of capital in North America has been even more rapid than in Britain, the unbounded extent of virgin soil there having been utilised in conformity with principles favourable to the development and progress of industry.

These illustrations show that natural resources conduce to

the growth of industrial enterprise, and to the material advancement of a country, only in so far as the surplusage of its products is turned to account in the form of reproductive wealth, or capital. Whatsoever is expended in luxury, pageantry, wars, and other forms of unproductive expenditure is lost to all beneficent purpose, and is productive, at best, of a transient glory, destined either to perish in oblivion, or to endure as proof of the neglect or selfish ambition of irresponsible despotism.

It must not be supposed that educational and religious institutions are ranked as wasteful or unproductive. In so far as they tend to increase knowledge, instil virtue, and extirpate vice, they are in the highest degree useful and profitable to the State by promoting order, peace, and morality. They only become indefensible when they fail to honour God, or when they minister only to the pride and vanity of man. Moreover, knowledge is itself one of the most valuable forms of reproductive capital, and ought therefore to be inculcated assiduously as an important element of industrial success and material advancement. Knowledge, however, is also *power* as well as capital. Despots, therefore, must needs keep their subjects in ignorance, or they would lose their power of oppression. This formidable two edged instrument is sedulously kept by despotic rulers out of the grasp of the people, who are thus made helpless and dependent, and therefore in no way responsible for the condition of the countries they call their own, nor for that of the industries in which they labour.

In ancient times almost all countries were governed by despotic rulers, or patriarchs, who regarded the labouring class as inferior beings, to be kept in abject ignorance and dependence. Their labour, and often also their persons, were regarded as chattels at the disposal of the State. They were required to work for little if any other recompense than the food and shelter necessary to enable them to perform the requisite service. The surplusage of their labour inured entirely to their rulers, who therefore had the absolute

disposal of the entire income of the country. Hence the fruit of industry was consumed, wasted, or converted to reproductive use as capital, according as the taste and temper of the sovereign for the time being might determine. One, animated by beneficent ideas, might devote the labour of the people, the resources of the country, and the energy of his own character to the construction of an useful work; another, more vain and selfish, might neglect such work, and, like Cheops, apply the national wealth and sinew to a stupendous pyramid, for no higher purpose than to calculate his horoscope, or to perpetuate the memory of his personal vanity. Wisdom or folly, fanaticism or pride, by turns directed the ever-varying aims and objects to which the labour of the people was applied; and the same fitful and uncertain policy determined their condition. The history of Ceylon and its industries under native dynasties is a record of such alternations, in which great achievements were succeeded by ruinous lapses, in periods of fitful duration, when the condition and even the numbers of the people must have fluctuated between wide extremes. Such have been the general results, as attested by history, wherever the resources of a country have been concentrated in the control of despotic rulers. Though the interests of both rulers and people ought theoretically to be identical, seeing that the surplusage produced by the latter is the measure of the means of the former, yet in practice it has proved that pride, ambition, and greed have generally prevailed over the dictates of policy and reason. Hence, instead of progress of wealth and happiness and the blessings of contentment extending to all classes, the natural results of the principles and conditions of native despotism have been the ruin and desolation which are to be seen in the countries so governed. The ruined tanks, and the unhappy people who still cling to the expiring remains of the grand enterprise they represent, are the natural consequences of the system pursued by native despots, whereby the wealth and capital of the country were concentrated in one hand, subject to one will, and were not available for individual enterprise.

The influence of capital, the motive power of industry, depends mainly upon the way it is directed, whether as the ally of the labourer, or as his imperious taskmaster ; whether to employ and remunerate him, or to exact as much work as the lash or the bastinado may be able to extort ; whether to divide it in just and reasonable proportion between the labourer and the capitalist, or to absorb the whole, either by the power of the State or by usurious exactions. In the sequel of this review of the industries of Ceylon, it will be seen that the absence of capital has been in some cases scarcely more fatal than the abuse of the power exerted by its few possessors. The needy goyá, who has to pay fifty per cent. for the use of his seed, would often be better without it, and at the best he pursues his enterprise under discouragement fatal to the future progress of his industry or to the improvement of his own condition.

The conduct of the Portuguese and the Dutch was characterised by the avarice of adventurers, who were regardless of the good of either the country or its inhabitants. Their only care was to extract from both whatever they could obtain, whether by force or guile. Their capital and the command their fleets gave them of the sea, were employed in the interest of their own country and commerce at the expense of this Island and its people. Though they nominally purchased the produce of local industry, they actually appropriated it on terms little better than pillage, the prices paid being such as would have effectually suppressed the production, which was therefore carried on mainly by means of forced levies. Certain quantities of the various commodities were exacted under severe penalties, and the prices paid were such as to involve the producers in loss and grief. Some industries were thus destroyed, and all were discouraged. Bertolacci relates that pepper to the extent of forty to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum was levied at the rate of 1 to 1½ fanam per pound, worth many times that paltry payment. Governor Schreuder on leaving the Island advised his successor to reduce the exports, lest the trade

of Malabar, another Dutch possession, should be injured. And it is well known that the cloves and nutmegs were destroyed in Ceylon in the interest of Dutch trade in the Moluccas. For cardamoms, Bertolacci says, they paid the Siphalese 2 fanams per pound. Under this régime the capital and power of the State were employed in seizing the products of industry on terms so grievous that it became the interest of the people rather to root up their trees than to harvest the fruit, wherefore it became necessary to enact extreme penalties for the destruction of fruit trees.

It thus appears that our predecessors employed their capital in a manner to effectually discourage, or even to extinguish, the most important industries of the country, nor was it ever applied beneficently, or under the conditions which foster enterprise, until the British took possession. Of private capital, independent of the State, there was then but very little, and that little was in the hands of renters and other such persons, exercising or usurping official functions and authority. Sir J. Emerson Tennent seems inconsistent in his remarks upon private capital, for in some parts of his writings he exposes, with all the force of his powerful pen, the extortions of native usurers; and elsewhere, in the Blue Book for 1846, he says: "It is a singular fact and somewhat discouraging that *there is not a single native capitalist in Ceylon*, though some are proprietors of land to a considerable extent, and enjoy a corresponding rank and influence in their localities." Here he shows, not the absence of capital, but its abuse.

The practical difference in the results of the employment of capital by the State, as compared with its application by private individuals, is well exemplified by reference to the historic facts above cited. Works constructed by the State are generally on a large scale, and whether of an useful and reproductive character, or of the opposite kind, they depend for their maintenance on the disposition of the rulers for the time being. They and they only have the power and the means. No one else has either the responsibility or the

ability to keep them in a state of efficiency. Hence neglect, the fatal and almost inevitable consequence of irresponsible ownership, has overtaken and ruined the greater number of such works. On the other hand, private capital has, from time immemorial, produced enduring results, which no power can destroy, and which will through all time go on developing the resources of the world. Commerce, the great benefactor and pacificator of mankind, which has brought the most distant nations into mutual intercourse and interdependence, owes its origin and development to private enterprise. In Britain, where it has attained the greatest development, and in some other countries, where modern civilisation has subdued or modified the ambition and selfishness of ancient despotism, the fruits of private capital are manifest in the advancement of all classes of the people, in the progress of art and science, and in affording the strongest motives for the maintenance of peace and for strengthening the brotherhood of nations.

The cause of the stagnant state of local industries, which the British Government found on assuming possession of this country, was clearly proved by the wonderful change which immediately followed the introduction of the capital which the planters introduced, and so vigorously employed, and by the widespread improvement in the condition of the natives within the range of its benign influence. The reason that in the regions beyond that range the old stagnation still continues, is because the old adverse conditions which discourage enterprise and make progress impossible are still in force there. The training of ages in oppression and misery could not easily be effaced, even if the former discouragements did not persist. To ignore those conditions, and to heap reproaches upon the victims, is as foolish and unprofitable as it would be to revile the dying or the dead.

The influence of free intercourse between different countries, and between distant parts of the same country, is an important factor in the development of industrial enterprise. In former times a nation might keep within itself and maintain

a comparatively isolated and independent position, its inhabitants accommodating their wants to their own local resources. In some the avenues of access were closed against all foreigners, except a favoured few, on whom they depended for some necessary exchange of commodities. In modern times, however, such exclusiveness has become impossible. Steam navigation, railways, and telegraphs, have brought nearly every habitable part of the earth into direct intercourse with all the rest. Keen traders issue forth, laden with the products of countries where industry has fructified abundantly, to find markets for the surplusage of their productions. Thus an almost universal interchange of commodities has been established. Old barriers have been broken down, until at length few hindrances remain to prevent free access to the recesses of even the most jealously guarded countries. The special resources and requirements of each, what it can most cheaply supply, and what it most urgently wants, thus become generally known, and commerce sets up a process of distribution and equalisation which seems to be destined to eventuate in a general equilibrium. With this knowledge every country might turn to account its special capabilities and advantages to the purposes for which it is best adapted. Many industries which were formerly pursued under adverse conditions, in certain places, have already been superseded by new ones more suitable to the circumstances. A still more comprehensive re-adjustment will doubtless be effected by a greater freedom of intercourse, which, if carried out to its natural results, will eventuate in each country's producing the commodities for which it is best adapted. In the meantime, however, this natural tendency of universal competition is being checked by means of artificial expedients, such as prohibitive or protective tariffs whereby local advantages are nullified and adverse conditions perpetuated. The good of the many is sacrificed for the benefit of a few, and the natural tendency is perverted. This old fashioned method of interfering with natural growth, though still maintained extensively, must

in the end succumb to natural forces. Universal intercourse seems to be the destined providential means of promoting peace, brotherhood of nations, and the distribution of the people to the places where there is most room for them. Far as the world is yet from such a consummation, the tendency of modern inventions, discoveries, and civilisation is so to disseminate knowledge, and to distribute the products of industry, as to extend their benefits universally.

Facility of communication between the distant parts of a country is as important to its industries as the intercourse it enjoys with other countries. Valuable commodities may otherwise exist abundantly in one part, and be yet practically unavailable for other parts, where they are urgently wanted. Thus, stores of grain existed in India in one part, whilst, but a few years ago, famine raged in another. Hence, for want of efficient means of transport, one province lost the benefit of a good market, whilst the people in another were dying of starvation. On the other hand, railways and modern appliances have proved the means of bringing supplies of wheat from the north of India and other new and remote places, which have afforded cheap food to the millions of English labourers, who would otherwise have suffered severe hardship during the long protracted depression of trade from which the country is only now recovering.

When the British took possession of Ceylon, the interior was accessible only by village paths and game tracks, which precluded the transport of any but very portable and valuable commodities. Wherefore the few industries which existed in the country were mostly of a local character, confined within narrow limits. Sir J. Emerson Tennent, writing in 1846, says: "It is surprising that even postal communication is so regularly maintained, considering the obstructions caused by wild animals, deep streams, and the absence of local European superintendence" in some parts. A British Embassy which started from Colombo to the King of Kandy in 1806, had to leave its artillery behind at Sitáwakka, and to proceed in light marching order, not

without great difficulty and delay. Trade and industrial enterprise were necessarily then almost confined to the coasts, each of which in turn was practically inaccessible for half the year during the monsoons, the small craft the Island possessed being unable to cope with them. In Knox's time, the King of Kandy required his subjects to bring with them, and deliver to him, the products of the country under his rule, and that faithful historian describes graphically the detentions, losses, and privations to which the people were exposed whilst waiting His Majesty's pleasure to receive them. He also relates that arecanuts lay on the ground ungarnered, because there was "no vend for them," or indeed for any other of their fruits. It follows that under such conditions, so comparatively recent, the industries of the Island were necessarily confined to such commodities as could be carried by almost impracticable paths to all but inaccessible markets.

Nor were the conditions much better under the Dutch, whose proceedings, as we have already shown, offered no inducement to the natives to pursue by choice the industries forced upon them, even if the markets that Government provided had been more accessible than they were made by the canals they constructed.

It was not until the British Government introduced the system of roads throughout the Island, for which it has since been so justly noted, that this essential element of industrial success has been provided. This means of communication has, in the meantime, been superseded by railways, in which steam takes the place to a very large extent of draught by animals. Unless Ceylon proceeds more energetically, however, and by private enterprise, to complete the chain of intercommunication by rail, she will be left far behind in the keen competition of powerful rivals in her newest enterprises, and will suffer discouragement, or possible defeat. The policy of constructing railways at the expense of the existing local industries, and of devoting them when paid for to the raising of revenue by means of excessive rates of

transport, is neither wise nor just. It deprives them of a great part of their value, which consists in economising carriage and thus affording aid and encouragement to enterprise.

In the foregoing remarks on the influence of capital, intercourse, and market, the relation these elements bear to the all-important one of labour has been incidentally shown, but requires to be more particularly considered.

As a general principle, it is obvious that some adequate inducement is an indispensable condition of voluntary labour. It would be vain to expect to enlist the best energies of the people in work in which they have no interest. Labour may, it is true, be extorted by the lash of the taskmaster or slave-driver for the benefit of those who, for the time, possess the requisite power ; and it has already been shown that prior to the accession of the British in Ceylon, the Singhalese suffered galling oppression, and were in a state of helpless ignorance and degradation. It was dangerous, wheresoever it was at all possible, for them to possess anything of which they could be deprived, and they were therefore in a state of inevitable poverty. It was not possible for industry to prosper, or for the people to advance under such conditions. Although the country possessed great natural capabilities, and the virtual monopoly of two precious commodities, cinnamon and pearls, yet neither the people nor the country derived any advantage even from these specialties ; in fact, the greed of our immediate predecessors, the Dutch, reduced the value and destroyed the monopoly of the spice, and drove the trade into another channel.

It is thus manifest that the nature, extent, and success of the industries of a country are not under the control of the labouring people, nor are the working class responsible either for their own condition or for that of their country. This fact, so clearly shown in the history of Ceylon, is fully borne out in our own country elsewhere, and is strikingly manifest in the fact that the depressed, languishing, dispirited people who still linger about the ruins of the ancient tanks, are of

the same race and natural character as the energetic Siphalese, who are ever ready to undertake work on contract, and the goyás, who, to a man, are willing to fell heavy forest, clear, sow, and fence it, for the small return of a single crop of kurakkan, which rarely even yields an equivalent of 7d. a day for the severe labour it involves. The wretched crofter of North Britain, who listlessly watches his starving family in a state of moral paralysis, is of the same race, and naturally of the same energetic character, as his countrymen who have made the name of a Scot a synonym for indomitable energy. The African captive who suffers himself to be dragged ignominiously from his home, is often of the same kith and kin as his captor, and would turn the tables on him if he were not demoralised by oppression. In all these cases the difference of character is not natural, but is the product of the particular circumstances, often entirely artificial, in which the people are placed. The same result may be produced either, on the one hand, by oppression, which deprives men of the just value of their labour and reduces them to an abject condition, or by the dispiriting influence of vain and fruitless effort. A dead pull breaks the heart of a colt, and in like manner *a hopeless condition makes men apathetic, despairing, and slavish.*

One of the few Dutch Governors who had generous impulses towards the Siphalese recommended his successor to offer an additional inducement instead of forcible exaction, for he says : "Raising the price of an article has more effect with them (the Siphalese) than harsh measures." At the same time, his suggested addition of a penny per pound by way of inducement for the production of the article they were levying at a mere fraction of its proper value, shows how the feeling of justice becomes dried up by the exercise of habitual and systematic oppression.

History teaches that the stability and permanence of a Government depend mainly upon the justice and reasonableness of its dealings with the people, and upon the inducement thus offered for the enlistment of their energies. This, in

fact, is one of the leading conditions which determine the character of a nation's industries. Wheresoever labour is exacted by force and fails to receive its just remuneration, wheresoever service is executed without wages, the woo pronounced by Jeremiah will be realised. The fruits of such service will be uncertain, and may perish like the river of Joseph, or endure uselessly like the pyramids amidst the desolation they have helped to create. In short, *power that is exerted selfishly is unenduring, and that only is progressive and permanent which extends its rule unselfishly to all classes of the people.* The degradation of any section of a community is a mortal malady of the State, which will in the end bring the whole body politic to decay and ruin. The healthy condition of a State can only be secured by maintaining that of each class. The providential arrangement by which the violation of the principles of justice and charity entails its own penalties is as applicable to a nation as to an individual. Hence all the devices by which despotism has striven to maintain and perpetuate oppression have throughout the world's history eventuated in the destruction of the oppressor.

We have seen that in Ceylon, until lately, the conditions which call forth the energies of the people have been continually violated, and that the natural consequences have followed in the deposition of the oppressors, the stagnation of local industries, the waste of natural resources, and the demoralisation of the people. The requisite inducements for effective exertion, the capital necessary to utilise the labour of the people, and the knowledge required to direct it, were all wanting, until British capital and the energy of the planters supplied these essential elements to a part of the country where they have fructified abundantly. May the same happy results be soon extended to those parts which still lie under the blight bequeathed by former Governments!

The institution of caste, howsoever it may have originated, afforded to native rulers an effective means of securing their own ends by working upon the feelings of pride natural to

man. The distinction thus conferred upon all who were engaged in the occupation in which the rulers were most interested, and which gave to such people a rank above their fellows, secured the supremacy of that industry. Thus the cultivators who filled the State granaries were made to look with scorn upon all other classes of the people, who suffered degradation in different degrees, according to arbitrary arrangement. The people were thus placed in an unnatural relation one class to another, whereby invidious distinctions were created amongst them all, and severe discouragement was imposed upon those industries which were likely to enrich the people engaged in them. Nor was the distinction of the favoured class an unmixed blessing to themselves, for they were obliged, on pain of their own degradation and that of all their descendants, to adhere to their particular pursuit, whether their lands afforded an adequate return, or failed, from whatever cause, to yield the produce necessary to maintain their increasing numbers. Hence the coveted distinction subjected its possessors to the fate we see to-day so terribly exemplified in the condition of the wretched survivors of a once dense population, who still cling to their ancestral lands about the ruined tanks, and also in villages which have outgrown the resources of the lands belonging to them.

The obligations and restrictions imposed by caste upon the labouring population of Ceylon, and the relations thereby established between labour and the other factors of industrial progress, are entirely opposed to the conditions under which success is possible. Of these none is more important than the freedom of the labourer to dispose of his one possession, sinew, in the manner most conducive to his advantage and to the demand that may exist for its use. Caste inflicts a fatal impediment to the adjustment of means to ends, and imposes insuperable obstacles to progress and prosperity. One craft may lack labourers whilst another is overdone. Natural resources may lie neglected because the people, where they are available, are precluded by their caste from defiling

themselves by utilising them. For instance, coir is a thriving industry in some places, and is neglected in others because of the special contamination caste assigns to it.

It would far exceed the limits of this Paper to specify the numerous forms of discouragement caste imposes on our industries, but many will appear in the sequel. The influence it exerts must be constantly kept in view in considering each one in particular, if justice be done to the subject.

Probably the worst evil consequent on caste is that which makes it a degradation to accept wages. It virtually requires a man to be either a partner or a slave of his employer. Knox shows that it is not the work itself, generally, but the doing it for wages, which degrades the man. He says: "Husbandry is the great employment of the country. In this the best men labour, nor is it held to be any disgrace for one of the greatest quality to do any work, either at home or in the field, if it be for themselves, but to work for hire with them is reckoned for a great shame, and very few are there to be found who will work so, but he that goes under the notion of a gentleman, may dispense with all works but carrying—that he *must* get a man to do, for carrying is accounted the most slave-like work of all." We daily experience the truth of this remark, by observing with what avidity the Siphalese will undertake almost any kind of work by contract, which comparatively few would be induced to do for wages. The task or contract evades the ignominy of hire. Even yet, notwithstanding some relaxations effected by European influence and example, the degradation which caste assigns to certain occupations, and to labouring for hire, continues in strong force. There are at this day hundreds of thousands of able-bodied Siphalese, who would gladly earn the wages their labour would procure, but for the shame of that terrible scare, and the sacrifice it would entail of their social status and that of their descendants.

The strength of caste feeling in the native mind may be inferred from the following remark of Sir J. F. Dickson in his article on Ceylon in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* :—

“The castes do not intermarry, and neither wealth nor European influence has had any effect in breaking down caste distinctions.”

Europeans may inveigh against the poor native, who in his deepest needs refuses to violate his order and sacrifice his social status and that of his posterity by working for hire, but it is a feeling which operates as strongly in our own community as amongst Asiatics, though not bearing the same opprobrious name. An English gentleman will not descend to any employment which, according to the accepted creed, would degrade him and lower his social status. It cannot therefore be expected of the ignorant natives who have inherited for many generations the ideas of the race, to do for themselves what even Christian teaching has not effected for the European. Naturally the invidious feelings inspired by caste distinctions are the strongest in the higher grades, who enjoy the superiority caste confers. They, therefore, whose example alone could break down the caste barriers, are they who most strenuously uphold them.

Of the numerous writers who have employed their pens in descriptions of this Island, very few have considered the conditions essential to the success and development of industrial enterprise. All of them, without exception, have been deeply impressed with the apparent capabilities and resources of the soil and climate, as these are manifested in the luxuriant growth and great variety of its vegetable products; and have therefore been surprised at and have remarked upon the backward condition of its industries, the undeveloped state of its apparently inexhaustible sources of wealth, and the low status of the rural inhabitants. Such a discrepancy between the actual condition of the country and its apparent capabilities required explanation, and nearly all have considered that the apathy of the people afforded a satisfactory solution of the matter, and have taken it for granted.

Though this very simple reason may seem to suffice for the mere purpose of accounting for the existing state of the country, it will be seen from the foregoing remarks that it

does not represent the true state of the case, and that it fails entirely to expose the real evils that have been the effective causes of discouragement in the past, some of which have, in consequence, remained in operation, and are still unremedied. The ready acceptance which this superficial theory has received has proved a very serious impediment to progress, and a grievous injury to the people, especially to that large section of them who are still suffering helplessly under adverse conditions, for which they are not in any way responsible.

Those writers who adopt this theory, and their followers quote the evidences of ancient prosperity and plenty contained in the ruined irrigation works to show what has actually been done, and they refer for proofs of more modern industry and success to the vaunted riches extracted from the country in former times. But they generally overlook the fact that the foundation on which those superstructures of past greatness and wealth were built was, in both cases, unstable. Under native rule the whole resources of the country and the sinew of the people were in the power of the State and were devoted to one enterprise, dependent for its success on vast works, which the State alone could maintain. The failure of these works therefore inevitably sealed the doom of the unhappy people, who had no escape from the ruin imposed upon them. They lived under artificial conditions of which they were not the splendid authors, but only the miserable victims. It was not nature that was cruel to them, nor were they responsible for the violation of her laws. Equally unnatural and impolitic was the conduct of our immediate predecessors, and though it operated in very different ways it was not less effective than that of the native rulers in crushing out the vital principles of industrial enterprise.

The authorities whose writings and opinions have been referred to may be divided into two classes, viz., those who have apprehended the true state of the case, and have sympathised deeply with the sufferers ; and those who, on the

other hand, have disregarded the effective agencies, and have contemned and reproached the people for their misfortunes. The former class, though small in number, is strong in all that gives value to their evidence and weight to their opinions. Sir Henry Ward is a type of this class; he saw the country for himself, and investigated personally, with all the force and acumen of an experienced statesman, the actual conditions of the country and the people. The result was a deep sympathy with the sufferers, and strong invective against the real authors of the evils under which they suffered. Knox belongs to the same class; and writing as one of the people themselves, after living as one of them, he describes in his naïve and simple way that the people durst not possess anything that could attract the cupidity of their rulers, nor had any inducement to produce more than they could consume, "having no vend for anything they might get."

In the masterly Minutes of Governor Ward, and in the unvarnished description of the honest captive, who spent twenty years in the village life of the Sihalèse, are contained the true principal causes of the backward condition in which the British Government found the industries of the country when it assumed the rule.

Those who, on the other hand, attribute the condition of the country to the apathy and idleness of the people have written apparently without any intimate knowledge of the character and ideas of the labouring classes of their own and other countries.

The writings of those who belong to this class, and of their followers of the present day, would lead their readers to the supposition that, if it were not for the supineness and crass idleness of the Sihalèse, the whole Island would be a veritable garden of Eden, teeming with all the products of tropical growth, besides some peculiar to itself. It would take up pages of this Paper to merely enumerate the various products which, according to Bennet and others, would yield fortunes to any one who would take the trouble to reap them. He

(Bennet) is particularly strong in regard to indigo, cotton, opium, pepper, and tea. The two first mentioned grow wild, and he says there are 4,000 square miles on which cotton might be grown. As regards tea, which he also describes as *indigenous*, he may have only followed Percival, who wrote about twenty years previously, and says that "the tea plant is found in the greatest abundance in the northern parts of the Island, which are most unfavourable to other kinds of produce"! He says further "that it is equal in quality to any that ever grew in China."

Another enthusiast of more recent date, C. W. Payne, has published, besides his book on "Ceylon, its Products, Capabilities, and Climate," a map of large size, and of very remarkable character. At page 11 of his book he says that Ceylon "will be found to be far more productive in mineral wealth than any other country." He estimates "that the exportation of *cotton* from hence would give freight to 500,000 tons of shipping annually, and would annihilate the slave cotton supply from America." Of *tobacco* he says "an acre produces one and a half to two tons." *Wine* of superior quality, and that to a great extent, could be made here; indeed "it would be difficult," he says, "to find a climate or soil better adapted for the cultivation and growth of the grape than some parts of the low country." In his rambles he "gazed around him with astonishment to see the herds of *wild* cattle grazing upon the beautiful green pasture, resembling our home parks, but far more luxuriant. Countless herds of wild cattle wander through the forest, and over the valleys; they have also their camping grounds, park-like places, shaded with trees. Every herd has several of these camps. So strong is their attachment to place that they have been known to travel back 100 and even 200 miles to their old haunts." "Here," he says, "is a wide field for the slaughter house; beef and venison in abundance." "I have myself seen," he goes on to say, "herds numbering two to three thousand heads without owner or master. Why, the very hides of these animals would make a fine export trade, while

their flesh would be food for the Eastern army and the emigrant ! ” This gentleman assured Lord John Russell that “ in a few years he could produce a surplus revenue of £ 1,450,000 sterling, after deducting expenditure.” Still, extravagant as is the picture drawn by this author and resident of the country, he is in one respect more just than most other writers ; for he admits the need of *capital* for the execution of most of his projects, whilst they expect the poverty-stricken people to do everything by merely shaking off their sloth, and harvesting the natural products of the country, amongst which they include some that are neither indigenous nor cultivable, things that never did nor ever will grow here.

Such are some of the misapprehensions into which writers, including some who have enjoyed the advantage of personal observation during considerable periods of residence in the country, have been led by judging from superficial appearances and overlooking the conditions which determine the nature and development of industry. A fair and reasonable consideration of the subject with reference to those conditions will be found to explain some apparent anomalies, to account for the decline of some industries and the extinction of others, and to place the character of the Siphalese race in a light which relieves them, to a great extent at least, of the charges commonly laid against them, both as regards their industry and their intelligence. As to the rest, they cannot be expected to exhibit the characteristic virtues of Christianity, which as yet are but little understood amongst them.

ANCIENT INDUSTRIES IN CEYLON.

By GEORGE WALL, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., VICE-PRESIDENT.

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CEYLON is fortunate in possessing a connected history of the last 2,300 years, of which Turnour, a most competent authority, says that "it is authenticated by the concurrence of every evidence which can contribute to verify the annals of any country." Like all ancient and nearly all modern histories, however, the histories of this Island are almost exclusively records of great national events and the proceedings of rulers, princes, and priests, and afford little, if any, information respecting the industries of the people. Historians, even to this day, fail to recognise the fact that potentates are not possible without a people, and that a people is nothing without its industries. In other words, the position, power, and resources of kings are derived entirely from industry as the fundamental source of all wealth. The fact that unless the people earn by their labour somewhat more than the necessities of life there is no resource for either princes or priests, outside of the ranks of the people themselves, is generally regarded by historians as unworthy of notice in a national record. It is nevertheless a fact of such importance, and is so related to all those events that figure prominently in history, that the condition of a country, and the industries in which the sinew of the people is employed, may, to a great extent, be logically inferred one from the other. The slight mention of trade and commerce in Singhalese histories is attributed by Mr. Turnour to the fact that they were exclusively written by Buddhist priests, who are debarred from all secular pursuits.

The monuments which remain to attest the resources, and to exhibit the national character of ancient races of mankind, seem to show that wheresoever the surplus products of labour were devoted to luxury, pomp, and unproductive purpose, the improvident races so employing them perished, and their epitaph is inscribed upon the memorials of their wasteful policy; and on the other hand, that wheresoever the sinew and resources of an ancient people are represented by reproductive works, the race and its industries survive, even where these have been crushed by the weight of unproductive national burdens, as in Egypt, or have been subject, as in Ceylon, to the frequent incursions of rapacious neighbours, and to the vicissitudes of ever-changing and despotic Governments. Had the ancient Sihalase possessed the wisdom and foresight which led the Chinese to fortify their country against invasion and to protect their industries from harassing interruptions by erecting that stupendous barrier, the great wall, this country might have enjoyed, like that, a continuous progress of permanent and enduring wealth. And the Sihalase would almost certainly have attained a degree of intellectual and moral refinement and culture which are fairly foreshadowed by the art displayed in the design and decoration of their religious edifices, the science exhibited in the conception and execution of their stupendous irrigation works, and in the beautiful ideas of womanly devotion and female virtues which form a staple subject of their best poetry. But, instead of any such provident regard for the security of their possessions and industries, the Sihalase attracted their rapacious neighbours to their defenceless coasts, by lavishing upon their religious edifices a profusion of precious metals and gems, which were highly prized and easily carried off by their enemies. Hence it followed that, throughout their history, from the most ancient times, whenever the Government was weak, parties of Tamils invaded the Island, and either despoiled it, or seized upon and exercised for a time the supreme power. It is astonishing how easily these marauders established themselves, and how

patiently the Singhalese generally submitted to, or accepted, their domination. The policy of the people seems to have been to acquiesce unresistingly in each new dispensation, and to gradually absorb into the realm the novel elements so introduced. The only exceptions appear to have been provoked by extreme oppression, or by religious feelings, and when thus roused, the Singhalese turned resolutely upon their foes, and drove them bodily out of the country, or exterminated them. In reference to such struggles the Rev. Spence Hardy says that "many a Marathon or Thermopylæ might have been recorded of them." Seeing that the frequent invasions by their Tamil neighbours were the cause of all the worst disasters that befel their splendid industries, the persistent neglect of their national defences was the more remarkable, especially as they had not a long line of exposed boundary to protect, like the Chinese, but only a few points of their coasts. Such blind disregard of their national interests, after so many and such severe lessons, can only be accounted for by the inability the race has always shown for any great combination. They were ever a domestic, not a political, people, and so continue to be to this day. People of this disposition fall almost necessarily under the subjection of any resolute power, and become the servants, if not virtually the slaves, of those who wield it.

It may here be incidentally questioned, whether the great wall of China, which in modern times has been regarded as an egregious folly, costly as it must have been, was not, at least in the time when it was built, a more economical means of defence, after all, than a standing army, which would have abstracted in perpetuity so large a proportion of the labour taken from the industries of the Empire.

Seeing that history affords no direct information respecting the ancient industries, the actual condition of the people, or the national resources of the Island at the time of Wijayo's conquest, all that can now be ascertained on the subject must be inferred from the data afforded by the authentic narratives of the events therein recorded. These

events, so far as they depended upon the sinew of the people, either directly for the things done, or indirectly for the means of doing them, afford a sure guide for inference and research. Industry, being in one form or another, the source of all wealth, it is evident that wheresoever this is proved to exist, that must have preceded it, as certainly as the parent its offspring. Even when wealth flows from the most precious of nature's bounties, considerable labour is nevertheless necessary for their utilisation. In the Australian gold fields, for example, during the first few years after their discovery, notwithstanding the large prizes found near the surface, and the fortunes acquired by some individual diggers, the total output, when divided over the whole force engaged in the work, amounted to only two guineas a week for each worker. Gems, and even pearls, when charged with all the expenses involved in their collection, are not so lucrative a source of revenue as they seem at first to be.

Sir J. E. Tennent, in his celebrated book on Ceylon, disposes summarily of the great staple industry of the Island by the remarkable statement that before the arrival of Wijayo, 543 B.C., agriculture was unknown here, and that grain, if grown at all, was not systematically cultivated. "The inhabitants," he says, "appear to have subsisted then and for some centuries afterwards on fruits, honey, and the products of the chase." This view, which has been generally accepted on his authority, seems, however, to be irreconcilable with the authentic narratives, which will be found on examination to plainly describe a condition, both of the country and its inhabitants, at the time of Wijayo's landing, indicative of a certain degree of civilisation, and of the existence of settled communities, cities, and Governments. Such a state of things is incompatible with the nomadic life of tribes who live by the chase, as is conclusively proved by our experience of several races still living in that way in different parts of the world. The Red Indians of America, Bushmen of Australia, Hottentots of Africa, and Veddás of Ceylon, all afford examples of the wandering, unsettled

mode of life proper to such pursuits and manner of subsistence. In none of these races do we find cities, settled forms of Government, or any approach to the conditions prevailing in this Island when Wijayo arrived. All the narratives of this event show that the Singhalese *Yakhos*, as they were then called, and as they familiarly call each other to this day, had cities, *Yakho* capitals, social institutions, a national language, and some indubitable signs of accumulated wealth. Agriculture must, therefore, have been well understood, and successfully, if not quite generally practised, for it will be shown in the sequel that no other supposition is compatible with the circumstances narrated. Tennent supports his theory that the inhabitants lived by the chase by the fact that hunting was one of the amusements of the princes in those days, and that royal huntsmen formed part of their retinue. The same might be said, however, of the English princes of to-day, and the fact seems to indicate the luxury of court life, rather than that the people were reduced to that primitive and precarious means of subsistence.

Turning to the narrative of Wijayo's landing, and divesting the substantial facts of obvious orientalisms, and the heroine of supernatural powers, it becomes quite plain that Kuweni, like the rest of the inhabitants, was of human flesh and blood, no demon or spirit, but a real and also a very fascinating lady, whose ideas, tastes, and language harmonised with the princely character in which she appeared to Wijayo. Her "innumerable ornaments, lovely as Maranga, and her splendid curtained bed, fragrant with incense," would indicate, even if they were figments of the imagination, refinements inconceivable by a Red Indian or a Veddá. Yet *Yakhini* as she was, her charms were sufficiently real and substantial, and her position high enough, to captivate Wijayo, and to obtain for her the honour of becoming his wife and the mother of his two children. With such credentials, her discourse about other princely persons of her acquaintance follows consistently and naturally, and the narrative proceeds to relate that Wijayo listened to her story of a certain *Yakho*

sovereign, Kalaseno, who was just about to form a family alliance with another, the King of the Yakho city, Lankápura. The event was to be celebrated by a wedding festival of seven days' duration, and she treacherously suggested that this would be a rare opportunity for a surprise attack. Profiting by her information and advice, Wijayo proceeded to the distant scene of the festivity, and slaughtered the assembled Yakho guests in the midst of their conviviality. This done, Wijayo appropriated Kalaseno's court dress to his own use, and his retinue, following his example, helped themselves to the rich wedding garments of the other slaughtered Yakhos. These and other collateral circumstances establish the fact that the Yakhos concerned were neither demons nor Vēddás. Sovereigns, cities, and court dresses contrast strangely with what we know of chiefs in war paint, skin, and feathers, the orgies in which they indulge, and the life led by nomadic tribes who live by the chase.

The theory propounded by Tennent seems to have been suggested, and indeed necessitated, by the fundamental mistake into which he, in common with so many other authors, was led by regarding the Yakhos as savage aborigines—Vēddás, in fact, whose manner of life is such as he and his followers describe.

After the events just mentioned, Wijayo departed from the Yakho capital, founded the city of Tambapanni, and settled there. His chief ministers then proceeded to form separate establishments, each for himself. Anurádho formed his far away on the banks of the Kadambi river, Upatisso went still further north, and Uruwelo and Wijito settled southwards and eastwards, in places not now identifiable. From this dispersion of Wijayo and his ministers to form settlements in parts of the country widely distant from each other, it may be confidently inferred that the places mentioned were well populated, and that the people were of a peaceable character, or Wijayo's small party would not have dared to separate. Nor would ministers or princes settle in deserts or jungles, where there were not

people enough to produce the food, and to render the services necessary for themselves, their retainues, and courts.

Wijayo's adventure having thus succeeded so well, and his supremacy having become established by his representatives in so many parts of the Island, it seemed to his ministers unadvisable that the traitress Kuwani should share his throne. A mission was therefore sent to the King of Madura, to solicit for a princess suitable to become the wife of the ruler of Lapká. The emissaries who formed this important embassy took with them "gems and other splendid presents" wherewith to propitiate the favour, and secure the aid of the King Panduwo. This monarch received them graciously, and thereupon consulted with his ministers, with whose concurrence, he, having already decided to send his own daughter, asked his nobles "who amongst them were willing to send their daughters to renowned Sínhála," to accompany her. In response to this invitation, 700 noble ladies are said to have been selected, and Panduwo, having decorated his daughter with every description of gold ornaments befitting her sex and exalted rank, dispatched the party in charge of 18 officers of State, 75 horsekeepers, elephant-keepers, and charioteers, his daughter to be the bride of Wijayo, with a dowry consisting of elephants, horses, chariots, and slaves, and her noble companions to seek their fortunes in his court. On the landing of the cortége, the ladies, their retainues, and the magnificent presents they brought, were received and conveyed to Wijayo's court, with all the honour due to their rank and to the high positions for which they were destined. The ovation prepared for them, and the festivities that followed were such as could only have been conceived and executed in a country where regal state, court customs, and luxury were familiar and a state of civilisation was established, and where the inhabitants, on the long line of the march from the landing place, were peaceable and acquiescent. It is needless to point out how utterly incongruous such a party of noble ladies, and such presents as Panduwo sent, would have been if dispatched to a country inhabited

by Vēddās or bushmen scouring the Island for a miserable subsistence of fruit, honey, and game. The picture such a country would have presented may be imagined from the isolated condition of the part of this Island now occupied by the few remaining Vēddās that survive, and better still from what is known of the wilds of Australia, where aborigines roam in search of a wretched and precarious subsistence. Moreover, the troublesome character of such people, as near neighbours, is abundantly proved by the terrible contests civilisation has had to wage against savagery in America and elsewhere, even in our own times.

It is very probable that poetic licence has multiplied many fold the number of the noble ladies who came from the Pandyan court to settle in *renowned Lanḳā*, and may have magnified the value of the gifts they brought; but, unless the story be altogether rejected, it establishes the fact that Ceylon was already a settled and civilised country when Wijayo and his party set foot in it. The substantial and well-attested facts of the narrative indicate a state of things wide as the poles from anything to be found amongst Red Indian or Hottentot tribes. What nomade tribe of which anything is known, ever, for example, collected gems, gold, or any other treasure than scalps, skulls, and such like trophies of their savage habits? The gold of Australia and California, albeit glittering here and there upon the surface of the ground, lay neglected by the hunters, who wandered for ages about those regions in quest of game. Such races do not fulfil, and probably do not know, the divine injunction to subdue the earth, but prey upon its natural productions, like the beasts of the field, urged by the same wants and appetites, and satisfying them by similar means.

The hypothesis established by the foregoing facts harmonises the various circumstances of the narrative of Wijayo's adventure and the subsequent history of his reign, and that of the dynasty he founded; on any other theory these present insuperable inconsistencies and impossibilities, which would vitiate the whole annals of that important era. Hence the

opposite theory, that Ceylon was inhabited in Wijayo's time by Yakhos, who were not Siphalese, but savages, Veddás in fact, living on fruit, honey, and the products of the chase, will not bear the test of logical inference, and must give place to one which is consistent in itself, and is besides strongly supported by recent philological research into the origin and history of the Siphalese language.

On this subject the Rev. Spence Hardy has stated the probability that "the Siphalese language was spoken long before the arrival of Wijayo." "Either this prince," he says, "imposed his own language upon the people whom he conquered, or his descendants adopted the language previously spoken in the Island," the former being an untenable supposition, without parallel in history, and the second being therefore all but certain.

Judged by the actions recorded of him, Wijayo could not have been so wild and reckless an adventurer as to have gone with his retinue to a country, either altogether unknown or known to be inhabited by savages, so unprovided, that his party had at the outset to accept the hospitality of the princess Kuweni. Considering the proximity of Ceylon to India, it is most improbable that its real condition could have been unknown there. Panduwo, in fact, spoke of it as renowned, and as he had no hesitation in sending his daughter and her noble associates thither, so soon after Wijayo's accession, he must have had reason to be satisfied with the resources of the Island and the character of the people. Indeed, the pacific disposition of the Yakhos, if not already well known, must have become so very shortly afterwards, or their country would not have been so frequently invaded by comparatively small bands. It seems probable, in fact, that Wijayo's was one of these incursions, and perhaps not the first of those easy victories already alluded to. The facts suggest that the motive and preconceived intention of the expedition was to obtain the power over and to command the riches of the country, ends in which he succeeded so completely, and seeing that Gautama had foretold that such

was the part he was destined to fulfil, the plea of religion may have served to give a favourable colour to his project in the eyes of his followers. It will be remembered that Gautama had previously paid several visits to Ceylon, and he may probably have been inspired with the idea that his doctrines might be propagated amongst the Yakhos without encountering the opposition with which it had to contend in India, where the Brahminical religion had become deeply rooted. His prophecy respecting Wijayo's future rule over the Island may have been intended to stimulate this hero to fulfil a prediction which promised results so glorious to any ambitious adventurer, and was, at any rate, one well calculated to ensure its own fulfilment. Whether these suppositions are true or not, they supply a rational motive for the adventure, which relieves it of the foolhardy and reckless character it might, in the absence of such reason, assume. Albeit history affords many examples, even in modern times, of daring seizures of power by a few resolute leaders who, favoured by the momentary weakness of the ruling powers, and the supineness or pre-occupation of the people, have succeeded in effecting great revolutions. Such, for example, was the case in our own day, when Napoleon the Third succeeded by means of a handful of Changarniers in subverting the Republic of that day, and establishing himself on the Imperial throne.

Seeing then that Ceylon had in several distant parts, at the period in question (543 B.C.), its own Yakho sovereigns, capitals, and courts, characterised by a certain degree of luxury and refinement, it must necessarily have also had a large population, spread over a wide extent of the country, for it has already been postulated that there could be no potentates without a people. Equally certain is the inference that the natural resources of the Island must have been effectively utilised by labour, seeing that a people cannot exist without industry, and that cities, courts, and luxury could neither be originated nor maintained without an amount of surplusage divertible from the pursuit of the

necessaries of life, to procure such adventitious means of advancement and civilisation. The facts of the authentic history of the period thus plainly imply the existence of large national resources, an ample supply of labourers for their utilisation, and a considerable accumulation of national wealth.

At this stage of the inquiry a brief glance at some of the most obvious evidences history affords of the wealth of the period may serve to confirm and strengthen the foregoing conclusions, and to prepare the way for the further inferences which are to follow, respecting the nature of the Island's resources, the condition of the inhabitants, and the kind of industries by means of which the material progress of the country was advanced. Considering the numerical strength and the particular constituents of Wijayo's party, it will be evident that whatever was achieved during his reign, and for a century afterwards, must have been effected by means of the wealth and resources of the Island already existing when he arrived, for such a party could not have materially increased the production of wealth, though they might, when in possession of supreme power, have directed wisely, and no doubt did actually control the application of the means and materials then existing to such objects as they deemed best. The evidences herein to be adduced will be drawn from the proceedings, not only of Wijayo's reign, but from those also of the century following.

1. The enormous expenses which must have been incurred in connection with the mission to King Panduwo.

The presents sent by Wijayo must have been of a very costly nature to have been worthy of such an occasion and its particular object, and to have adequately exhibited the state and power of the suitor. And that they actually were such is proved by the nature of the response elicited, and by the magnificence of the return gifts, the rich dowry conferred upon the bride, and the splendid retinue that accompanied her. The expenses of the mission itself, consisting, as it did, of numerous officers of State, and attended as it must neces-

sarily have been, by a numerous and imposing cortége, must have involved a very heavy outlay. Even greater still must that have been which was prepared to receive and convey to Wijayo's court the bride and her noble suite. Add to all these items that of the wedding festivities and the inauguration of the Queen Consort, and the sum total will represent an amount which would have taxed severely the resources of any but a rich country. This costly occasion, moreover, occurred but a very few years after the conquest.

2. The formation of a tank for irrigation at Anurádhapura by Wijayo's immediate successor, Panduwasa, less than forty years after Wijayo's landing.

This tank was not a mere pokuna, or bath, but a wewa for agricultural purposes, and is the first recorded of those useful works which form so striking a feature of Singhalese history, and which afford, by their interesting ruins, irrefragable proof of the ancient wealth of the Island. These great structures, the mere repairing of which strains modern resources, both of skill and finance, must have required for their construction an immense force of labourers, and they prove incontestably therefore that the country must have possessed great wealth at the time each was executed. Whether the labour employed was locally supplied, or was, as some authors imagine, imported from the continent, is immaterial as a proof of the wealth of the builders, for it would cost more to import and to pay foreign labourers than to avail of the local supply. Whencesoever the labourers came, and whether or not remunerated otherwise, they must, at the least, have been fed and maintained at the cost of those who employed them.

The same may be said of capital, material, or other form of contribution from abroad; therefore the supposition that Ceylon was indebted to foreign aid for the means of executing the stupendous public works and religious edifices implies that such aid, whatever its form, would have to be paid for, and would therefore require a greater degree of national wealth and resource than the more natural and probable

theory that the means were locally provided. Ceylon could never at any time have obtained extraneous means for nothing, but must have paid for them, as she now does for the rails, locomotives, rice, and other commodities which are imported for public or private use.

In the sequel, reasons will be adduced for believing that though the tank above-mentioned is the first work of the kind recorded in Siphalese history, it was not the first in fact, and that it did but represent the means by which the Yakhos (not Vēddās) had long practiced their national agriculture. It appears, indeed, to be highly improbable that a mere change of Government should so soon have revolutionised the practice of the country in a matter of this particular nature. Especially so considering that the conquerors did not bring with them the secret of artificial irrigation by means of these stupendous works. Even so late as the eighth century the Rajah of Kashmir sent to Ceylon for engineers to construct tanks in his realm. The first authentic record fixes the date of the earliest of such works in India in the fourteenth century of our era, and on the other hand, the Government of this Island possessed within the early period now in question its "chief engineer," and several of these vast works were completed, besides others designed and commenced, the completion of which occurred but a little later. It thus appears that to the Yakhos so-called belongs the credit of originating these wonderful structures, though they probably owed the opportunity and means of carrying them out on an extended scale to the settled rule and powerful administration of a strong Government.

It may here be incidentally asked whether it is conceivable that a population of Vēddās could have designed such works, could even have been forced to abandon the chase, and to settle down to do the work themselves, or have supplied the means of doing it? The people who designed and executed those great irrigation works could not have been Vēddās, or men of the chase. They may have been demon worshippers, and doubtless were such, to some extent at least, and their

successors of this day still retain some remnants of that ancient superstition. Neither demons nor savages, the ancient people called Yakhos were evidently a civilised and intelligent race. Mr. Spence Hardy implies so much in the passage already quoted, in reference to their language, but he further says : "Speaking of a time long anterior to Wijayó's, I am far from thinking that the ancient race of the Island was so rude and ignorant as it is generally regarded." Indeed, it appears from history that a few only of the Yakho chiefs were conquered by force of arms, and that the rest were won over by the diplomatic skill and tact of the conquerors, for it is stated that Panduwasá, Wijayó's immediate successor, permitted certain of the Yakho chiefs, Kalawélo and Chitto, to exercise great authority. He even allowed them, on great public occasions, to sit upon a throne of equal height and dignity with that on which he himself was seated.

We attach no importance to the name, Yakhos, by which the people were called. It is no new thing to speak in contemptuous terms of a conquered people or even of strangers. We ourselves are still designated by the Chinese as barbarians and foreign devils.

3. Passing by the evidences of wealth which are exhibited in the construction of gilt palaces and other edifices of which ruins still remain to attest their magnificence, the fact of the condition which the city of Anurádhapura had attained within half a century after Panduwasá's reign may be adduced in proof of the wealth of the country at that time.

This city already figured as a centre, in and around which several vast tanks had been completed, numerous palaces and religious edifices had been erected, and the city itself contained an organisation of which some idea may be formed from the fact, that there was a staff of 500 scavengers, 200 night men, 150 corpse bearers, and 150 chandala attendants at the public cemetery, all maintained, of course, at the public expense.

The marvellous nature of the works achieved by the Siphalese, and the rapidity with which they were executed

under the Governments of Wijayó and his immediate successors, in the first century and a half after the conquest, may perhaps be better understood and appreciated by comparing them with what has been done in modern times, in countries enjoying the advantages which science has conferred, and possessing an amount of wealth and resource which may be fairly known or estimated. Take, for instance and comparison, what has been done in the same country, Ceylon, under British rule during nearly a century of occupation, bearing in mind that the natural resources of the Island have been supplemented by several millions of capital, some thousands of Britain's most energetic and intelligent sons to employ it, and nearly 300,000 Tamil coolies imported to aid in carrying out the work that has been accomplished. All these extra advantages, as well as the most modern appliances and experience, have been exercised under the favourable conditions of a powerful Government and uninterrupted peace. The most sceptical mind could not fail to be convinced by such a comparison of the great resources of labour and wealth the ancient inhabitants of this Island must have possessed, and the energy they displayed five centuries before the Christian era. Leaving antiquarians, anthropologists, and others to puzzle out the problem of the Yakho pedigree, and to make of it what they may, no sophistry can deprive the people of Ceylon in the time of Wijayo of the lustre of a degree of high intelligence and prolific industry of which their works bear witness, without involving in the wreck the superstructure supported, as Turnour states, "by all the evidences that could contribute to verify the annals of any country."

Pursuing the application of the principles laid down in the preceding chapter, which regulate and determine the course and development of national industries in general, to the facts of ancient history, it will in the sequel appear what were the nature and condition of the chief of those industries which conferred upon this Island the wealth of which the facts just adduced afford indubitable proof.

A COLLECTION OF NOTES ON THE ATTACK AND
DEFENCE OF COLOMBO, IN THE ISLAND
OF CEYLON,

GIVEN OVER TO THE ENGLISH ON FEBRUARY 16, 1796.

Translated from the French of MONSIEUR DE LA THOMBE
(*Voyage aux Indes Orientales*) by the late Colonel
the Hon. A. B. FYERS, R.E., Surveyor-
General of Ceylon.

[The following translation of *Recueil de Notes sur l'Attaque et Défense de Colombo*, which appeared in M. de la Thombe's "*Voyage aux Indes Orientales*," was made for the Society by its President, the late Colonel A. B. Fyers, R. E., Surveyor-General. The translator died in ignorance that a previous version in English had been attempted by Mrs. C. A. Lorenz (*née* Nell), some years ago, and printed for private circulation. This translation is now unprocurable. Colonel Fyers' contribution, therefore, so far from being held *de trop*, will be welcomed as a valuable addition to the historical papers issued by the Society.

The Appendices have been added by the editor with the object of laying before readers ample material for forming an unbiassed opinion regarding the surrender of Colombo to the British arms.—B., *Hon. Sec.*]



THE surrender of the Island of Ceylon to the English, and notably the capture of the fortress of Colombo which is its bulwark, having given rise to different versions, I am going to publish some information on the military operations which preceded the occupation, in order that an opinion may be formed as to how much reliance can be placed in the account given by Mr. Percival, an English officer, who, like a good Englishman, is far from confessing that treason alone obtained for his country the invasion and possession of this fine Colony.

This information was given to me at Batavia and in the Island of Java by several Dutch officers of rank employed there, who had formed part of the garrison of Colombo at the time.

Their own character and the agreement of their accounts convinced me of the truth of the notes which they gave me.

ATTACK, DEFENCE, AND SURRENDER OF COLOMBO.

July, August, September, 1795.

After the capture of Trincomalee, the English marched upon Batticaloa, of which they took possession without opposition, and then repaired to Jaffna (*Jaffnapatnam*), where the Dutch only left a few invalid officers and a company of Sepoys, having made the Europeans and artillery evacuate it for Colombo.

All the Malays who were in the Wanni (*le Vanille*) and at Mannár (Manaar) were also recalled thither, and the defence of that fortress from that time alone occupied attention. For had it been retained it would have helped, with assistance from the King of Kandy, towards the recapture of Trincomalee and the other posts of which the English were then masters.

Haste was then made to set on foot in Colombo the defensive arrangements which the circumstances necessitated.

Two companies were placed in the ravelin of the Delft Gate.

M. Dupéron, second engineer, who had charge of the execution of the exterior works, constructed outside the Galle barrier a *flèche*, the fire of which covered the lake, the road, the Galle Face (*la plaine de Galle*), and the sea. Four eighteen-pounders were mounted on it, but it could have held eight.

A battery for two eight-pounders was constructed outside the Delft Gate, which commanded the coast and the lower town road. Two eighteen-pounders were mounted on the *bonnette* above the barrier which directed its fire on to the esplanade.

Another *bonnette* was made at the angle of the covered way leading from the ravelin of the Delft Gate to the Powder Mill, in which two eighteen-pounders were placed so as to fire on the lake by the esplanade. A *place d'armes* was constructed here, and the covered way was heightened. All these works as well as the others were pallisaded. The side facing the Governor's house which commanded the roadstead was armed with small fieldpieces, one or two-pounders : a wide trench was made in front of it.

A sod battery was constructed to defend the landing-stage at the wharf. Three or four pieces of small calibre were mounted on it.

Large quantities of *cheveux de frise*, fascines, gabions, pickets, and poles were made.

The fire engines were put in order, the wells in the fort repaired, and private ones cleaned out. In addition to these a large supply of water was stored in the garden of the Governor's House.

The European and Malay companies each furnished seven men daily for these works. They were given as extra pay six sous, two rations of arrack, and a small loaf of bread. They were under the surveillance and command of two of their own officers.

A large number of cattle were collected. Store-houses were built for *carvates*, cocoanuts, arrack, oil for lights, wood, &c. Private houses were hired to serve as stores and for the offices of the Company, the premises being used, or the intention being to use them, for depositing merchandise.

The order forbidding storekeepers from selling any provisions whatsoever was renewed.

Private persons who wished to take refuge in the Fort were obliged to provide themselves with provisions for at least six months. Others conveyed their goods there to save them from the pillage which they had reason to fear at the time of the approach of the English.

In accordance with the decision of a Council of the different

heads of corps, who assembled at Government House to consult on the means for an exterior defence, a portion of the trees and shrubs on the Cocoanut Garden Island (*l'Île du Jardin de Cocotiers*) was cut down. All that was on the Galle Face on the side of that island was pulled down, besides a part of the bazaar of the lower town on the seaside. A commencement was also made in demolishing the block of houses situated on the shore of the lake, as well at the front and rear of the cemetery situated at the entrance of the lower town. They were undecided whether they would also raze the half of this lower town, as formerly recommended by M. de Cipierre, an engineer from Pondichéri.

The ramparts were furnished with guns, mortars, howitzers, and all ammunition necessary for a vigorous defence.

The powder magazine at the Galle Gate, and that situated at the Rotterdam Gate, were masked with three rows of cocoanut trees, on which were placed four feet of sand. Finally, the epaulments of the angles of the bastions were heightened by earth.

All the sailors were organised into a company, and exercised at the guns on the ramparts.

Three companies of Moormen (*des Maures*) were formed, who served as *coulis* or labourers either to the Company or to private individuals. They were commanded by battalion officers. Similar companies were also formed of Siphalese dependents of the Disave, and were commanded by sergeants or corporals.

The writers of the Company, too, took up arms and formed another company amongst themselves. Two companies were formed of citizens commanded by the brothers Kulemberg, who agreed to maintain them during the expected duration of the siege.

In September, 1795, there was grumbling on the part of two companies of the Meuron Regiment (*Régiment de Meuron*) who were stationed at Galle. They were cudgelled into submission, the punishment which Major Moitié had dealt out to them.

All the merchandise and effects of the Company which were at Tuticorin were transported to Colombo: some families also came to seek refuge there. It [Tuticorin] was entirely evacuated, and the English took possession without firing a shot.

While these events were proceeding, two merchant vessels arrived from Batavia, which were fortunately laden with rice and various other provisions. They brought also despatches for the Governor which confirmed the alliance of Holland with France, and the news of the departure of the Stadtholder and his family for England. These vessels were to have been reloaded at once and sent away to the Isle of France [Mauritius], but the difficulty of finding *coulis* or slaves, or other cause not possible to get at, delayed their departure.

The Governor had assuredly many means of provisioning his Fort and posts and securing against the misfortune which befel merchandise worth immense sums, but he appeared not to care to profit by any of them.

M. Cheniète, Viceroy (*lieutenant du roi*) at Tranquebar, came during the month of August and offered to supply all the provisions which might be required, in exchange for country produce. His offer was fruitless, either in consequence of the season being unseasonable, or because they did not come to terms about the price. He also offered to purchase the two merchant vessels which had just arrived, to place them under the Danish flag, and to buy up for their cargo all the Company's goods, giving Bills of Exchange on the Royal Treasury of Denmark, taken up by the Governor of Tranquebar. These proposals were not accepted.

Pierre Monneron subsequently arrived from the Isle of France with two vessels under the flag of Tippoo Saib. His cargo consisted of Madeira and Bourdeaux wines, which were nearly all purchased by the Governor. Monneron offered to transport to the Isle of France, to be warehoused there, all the goods, or even to purchase them, but being unable to agree about the price, these offers were equally resultless.

All that was done was to sell publicly many goods of small value which were in store and likely to be spoilt.

However, the first two vessels which arrived were loaded again, but no one knew their destination or nature of the cargo. There was also a question of loading *Le Fidèle*, which belonged to the Governor Mr. van Angelbeck, but under the Danish flag.

It was learnt indirectly that the King of Kandy, faithful to his ancient alliance with the Company, had offered to assist in the defence of the Island; but it appears that his aid was mistrusted, and even rejected, because he favoured the English.

All the spices which were at Kalpitiya, Chilaw, Negombo, Kalutara, Galle, and Máta were transported to the stores in Colombo, which was considered the only place that should be defended. Much was left at Galle, for want of means of transport.

During these preparations money changed in value: the rupee, which was ordinarily worth 5 escalins, rose to 10; the piastre from 10 escalins 3 sous to 20; the ducaton from 13 escalins 2 sous to 25 escalins; the pagoda of Tuticorin or Porto Novo from 17 to 28 escalins; the star-pagoda and others from 20 to 32 escalins. Florins and copper coins were very scarce.

Two English frigates having commenced to cruise before Colombo, an officer and a detachment of artillery were directed to proceed every night to each of the seaside batteries, but enjoined not to fire under any pretext whatever, without an order from the Governor. This naturally looked suspicious to several officers, and remarks were made about it.

The Governor being desirous to go to Galle, as was said, on some secret business, and unable to do so in consequence of indisposition on reaching Kalutara, had an interview with the Commandant of the former place, and with Colonel Sangle.

On the return of the Governor, he had tried in his presence the eighteen and twenty-four pounders on the Leyden Bastion

and on False Bay Battery (*de la fausse Baie*). Their furthest range was nearly to the mouth of the river at Great Mutwal (*grand Matuaal*): they were afterwards pointed on the Fishmarket and on *Courteboom*.

Mortar practice was made from the Utrecht Bastion in firing stones as far as the Galle Gate. In short, preparations were made for the most vigorous resistance.

The English came from Jaffna by land very leisurely. The Governor was not ignorant either of the strength or the description of troops of which their army was composed. He had been forewarned of everything that had been planned at Madras regarding the Island of Ceylon. He received information from Tranquebar and even from Madras itself.

The English army was composed of Sepoys, some of whom were raised in haste at Madras from the *coulis* of the country. A report spread that it consisted of 10,000 men, and that the enemy had raised besides on the coast of Madura a corps of bandits who would scatter about the environs of Colombo and pillage.

What troops were at Kalpitiya and Chilaw, were then recalled, but the officers at those two places had deserted beforehand, leaving their charge to the Company's clerks (*des Boekaiders*).

At this juncture Captain Lamotte, who commanded the Malay battalion, was sent out to meet the enemy with a few companies of his corps; but he had orders to retire as the enemy advanced. He finally took up a position defending the passage of the *Kaimelle* river. Information having been received that armed Kandyans were marching in great force to unite with the enemy, and that they were even supplying them with provisions, he was ordered to retire upon Negombo, and from thence to return to Colombo.

All the bridges on the route were destroyed, and all the roads cut to prevent the passage of the enemy's artillery. Nevertheless the English established themselves at Negombo,

which its head (*l'Oprohoffte*) had abandoned, and their men-of-war and transports anchored there.

Four eight-pounders had been placed at the *Passebetul*, but orders were subsequently received to withdraw them.

The English Major Agnew, who had already once summoned the Governor of Colombo, van Angelbeck, to surrender the Fort, and to place himself under the protection of the English flag, came and made a second summons, and handed over to the Colonel of the Meuron regiment letters from his brother [with the offer] of a Brigadier's commission, if he would join the English service. This he accepted, and it appeared to have been arranged beforehand, as he announced at the same time that the whole regiment would pass over to the same service with its Colonel, who claimed it.

This treason happened most inopportunately, as the European garrison was inconsiderable.

As this regiment was composed partly of Frenchmen devoted to their country and to the Dutch, our allies, their services were counted upon.

The English Major arrived in the frigate *L'Héroïne*, but had left her in the offing, and come on shore alone in a canoe. He landed at the inn, where, for form sake, a sergeant was placed near him. He remained for several days and had his meals daily at Government House, from the balconies of which he could easily inspect the preparations which were made.

A show was made of refusing the protection of the English flag, but the Meuron regiment was allowed to leave, and the Dutch Governor even countenanced [its departure]; for as there were no vessels fit to transport them, he furnished them with sloops belonging to the Company, at twenty rupees a head. Pierre Monneron also freighted one of these vessels for this service.

Colonel de Meuron wished to take his field-pieces away with him, but this was not allowed, on the plea that they belonged to the Company. The Frenchmen belonging to this regiment, the contract term of many of whom had expired, asked to be permitted to remain, on the ground that they had

been engaged only to serve the Company ; but they were all compelled to depart under promise to the latter that their discharges would be granted to them as soon as they arrived at Madras. Nevertheless a large number of them deserted.

Captain Zuelf, Aide-Major of this regiment, was ordered by the Governor to Galle to superintend the embarkation of the two companies which were stationed there.

Finally, in accordance with a convention between Colonel de Meuron and the Governor, the sick who were not able to leave remained in the Dutch hospital, and were treated as though still in service. As soon as the Meuron regiment left, the Council resolved to evacuate Galle, and only to defend Colombo. All the artillery and stores were withdrawn, and Colonel Hugues, who was stationed there with a company of the Wurtemberg regiment, was ordered to return [to Colombo]. He halted, however, at Kalutara for two days until the former regiment had all embarked.

The Malays, the artillery, three officers, and the sailors of the privateer *Le Mutin* who were at Galle, had also orders to return to the town [Colombo].

It was at this time that the frigate *L'Héroïne*, which was cruising before this fortress, anchored opposite Barberyn. Some armed sailors landed, spread alarm in the neighbourhood, bought provisions, and cut down cocoanut and palm trees to get the fruit. The officer in command ordered the postmaster (*posthorider*)—an invalid corporal from the garrison of Kalutara—to have in readiness for him the next day cattle and wood, for which he promised to pay. He then returned on board his vessel.

The corporal promised everything, but he informed the Commandant of Kalutara, and sent him three English sailors who had remained on shore. They were passed on to the Governor of Colombo, and imprisoned with a deserter from Trincomalee who had come through Jaffna.

There had already been posted at Bentota beyond Barberyn, a company of Malays commanded by Lieutenant Driberg, to defend the entrance of the river and the seacoast, and

one at Pánaduré (*Pantré*), this side of Kalutara, for a similar purpose, under the orders of Lieutenant Vogle.

Although Bentota was nearer, an order was sent to this officer to proceed without delay to Barberyne, to oppose the landing of the enemy. He had with him a company of Siphalese. Arriving at night he formed an ambuscade with the Malays behind a house of the Company situated near the landing place, and at the back of a neighbouring store. The Siphalese, as natives of the country, were kept under the cocoanut trees.

The English did not fail to come next day according to their promise. They had four long boats and a lighter (*un both*) to take the cattle and wood demanded the day before from the postholder. They landed armed, and commanded by naval officers. Scarcely had they landed, when the Malays, impatient to be engaged, opened fire and advanced on them. The English, surprised at this reception, retreated precipitately into their boats and defended themselves; whilst shoving off a lieutenant of the frigate and several sailors were killed, and several wounded. The Malays threw themselves into the sea, and captured a boat with several guns and sabres. All were sent to Colombo, and the value of the booty divided amongst the captors. Three of the Malays (of whom one was a sergeant) were killed, and some of them as well as of the Siphalese wounded. The latter also behaved very bravely. This little affair showed the enemy that the natives (*les Indiens*) in the service of the Dutch Company were determined to defend themselves well. This was the only time [the enemy] attempted to disembark.

The Governor, under his semblance of defence, appeared anxious to employ all the Europeans who were in the place, and offered the officers of the privateer *Le Mutin* and the crew service in the artillery during the siege; but as they foresaw what would happen, they thanked him and incontinently demanded to be allowed to return to the Isle of France, in one of the smallest one-mast sloops which had been sent for from Galle. He acceded to their request, and took advantage of

their departure to forward despatches to General Malartic, Governor-General of the Isles of France, and Bonaparte (then Bourbon). The necessary provisions were supplied to them, as well as two old *Sakebres* and some old sailors. M. Pourchasse, Captain of the prize, had the command. Some days after, profiting by a dark night and foggy weather, they set sail at 10 o'clock at night. They had the good fortune to escape the English cruisers, and it was known shortly after that they arrived safely at the Isle of France.

About the same time an English merchantman anchored before Mátara. An officer and five lascars landed to procure fresh water. Meanwhile the *Disáva* sent three fishermen on board to reconnoitre the vessel. The Captain, finding his men did not return, fearing attack, and wishing to profit by a favourable breeze which suddenly sprung up, weighed anchor and set sail for his destination, Bengal, detaining the three fishermen on board. His cargo consisted of Persian horses. The English officer and the lascars were seized and sent to Colombo by the *Disáva* as prisoners of war. The three sailors and the soldiers, who were prisoners, entered the [Dutch] service.

The troops were reorganised. The company of the Colonel of the Wurtemberg [regiment] and that of Winkelmann was split into three. Colonel Venagel was appointed Major. Two battalions of Malays were formed, the first commanded by Captain Lamotte, the second by Captain d'Obrick. A separate company of a portion of the Malays who were at the Arsenal was stationed at the dépôt of the Company's slaves and of those condemned to chains. A battalion of Sepoys was raised under the command of Captain Pannenberg, Major of the fort of Galle. The Moors that had been enrolled also formed a battalion commanded by Captain Betzem. Five hundred *Cháliyas* (*Salíyas*) were armed to be employed under the orders of Captain Mittemann in the open, and in the woods. Major Cheder was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and had orders to repair to Colombo. The command at Galle was given to Captain Hulembeck of

the Grenadiers, who had only some invalids and marine artillery, a company of Moors newly raised, and one of Siphalese, to man that fortress. There was still in the Disávany of Mátara a company of Sepoys that had been sent against the insurgents, who were led by a [native called] Don Simon (*Dorsimon*). For some time he had been spreading sedition in the Province. This company was recalled. The Disáva and those under him abandoned Mátara and withdrew to Galle.

The Prosalot company, composed of deserters from the Meuron [regiment],—the greater part Frenchmen,—having complained of its Captain, was offered by Colonel Driberg and the Governor to Captain Légrevisse, who accepted it. Captain Prosalot was compensated by being appointed Major and Aide-de-Camp of the Governor, who placed entire confidence in him. Lieutenant Hayer was promoted to the rank of Captain, and took the command of the former Légrevisse company. Lieutenant Vandestraaten commanded that of Major Driberg. Lieutenants Osel of the National Battalion and Wekel of the Wurtemberg [regiment] were named Aides-de-Camp of the Governor.

Many other promotions were made, both of captains and lieutenants, amongst them one named Le Sieur Déville, a Frenchman, formerly a non-commissioned officer in the Meuron regiment. Men being wanted in all branches, they were obliged to make engineers of artillery officers.

It was during this time that the English men-of-war and transports assembled at Negombo. Several frigates and coasting craft cruised continually before Colombo, and approached it very closely every morning to discover if anything had left during the night.

The frigate *L'Héroïne* passed and repassed within range of the guns of the Flag battery, and it would have been easy either to sink her or to have made her strike her colours; but the Governor having commanded that there should be no firing without his order,—which order never

came,—the soldiers saw with mortification the enemy continually setting them at defiance, without being able to retaliate. The Malays encamped on the seashore at the foot of the Flag battery, being too exposed were put into barracks in the storehouses of the Harbour Master outside the Water-gate (*de la porte d'eau*), and some small guns, three or four-pounders, were placed at the base of the Flag battery under the apprehension that an armed sloop might approach on that side. They also lodged the Sepoys and Moors in some storehouses.

A part of Colonel de Meuron's house was rented to accommodate the Council of Justice and also for an office. The Town Hall served for the armed townsfolk and the clerks. The goods in the offices were placed at Government disposal.

By the advice and invitation of the Governor, several ladies betook themselves to Galle.

At the Governor's house there is a small platform, and under it a vaulted cellar; the Governor had it covered with four rows of fascines and sand, which rendered it bombproof, and there he deposited his plate and furniture.

A ship bearing the King of Achem's flag (red) appeared before the roadstead with the intention of entering. One of the two brigs cruising about left its mate and gave chase, pouring in broadsides which rent all the sails. This vessel very fortunately escaped under the Water-Pass battery, mounted with guns of large calibre, which, for the first time, were ordered to be fired. It was supposed that the Governor only made up his mind to give this order because he hoped this vessel might bring despatches which he daily expected from Batavia. The enemy's brig went about, stood away, and the vessel arrived safely in port. It was the French corsair *Le Jupiter*, from Batavia, which had been previously captured by Commodore Mitchel, and subsequently retaken. The Captain who commanded her was a Dutchman named Backer : he had only a Malay crew, but offered

to capture the two brigs before night and to bring them in for the Governor, if he would grant him sailors and soldiers to work his guns. But the offer was refused.

The Military Council assembled every day, and was composed of the Governor as President, of Colonels Driberg and Hugues, of Lieutenant-Colonel Scheder, Majors Vaugine, Venagel, Prosalot, Hupner, and Foenander, Captain of the Engineers.

Awnings were made for the batteries to protect the soldiers from the heat of the sun. Thither they had sent long and broad knives (a sort of *kléban*) for the Malays in case of attack.

On the surface of the Galle Face they made *trous de loup*, and abattis were placed across the roads which led from the wood to Mutwal (*grand Matuaal*), and towards Grandpass, where those who lived in the environs could pass in carriages. Cross roads were made in the woods and gardens to afford communication between different posts.

In order to prevent the enemy from coming either by Maradana (*le Maraoudanne*) or by the Cinnamon Garden (*jardin à cannelle*), Major Hupner took upon himself to have a canal made to unite the two lakes above the island, but the Governor, who came to see it when it was half finished, considered it a useless and very expensive [work], and put a stop to it.

When all the English transports had arrived at Negombo, the army advanced as far as Ja-ela, (*Jail*), half way on the road to Colombo. Information of this was sent to the Governor. This took place at the beginning of February, 1796.

On February 5, 1796, the company of Captain Légrevisse received orders to march to *la place d'Amsterdam* at 9 o'clock at night, as well as the company of Grenadiers and two of Malays. Cartridges and stone balls were distributed to them, and they repaired to the main guard of the Delft gate. Major Vaugine assumed the command, and added to them a company of Sepoys. At 11 o'clock at night this small body

of troops came out of the Fort, and arrived at half past one in the morning at *Passe-Bétaal*, a post which the enemy sought to occupy. Major Vaugine marched so as to approach Grandpass, and then debouched to the left in order to reach the wood and a narrow path: he had several streams and abattis to pass, but he was not disturbed during that night.

The following day, February 6, 1796, the Major began stationing posts all along the river, and sentries on the two banks.

The minister Gœffening, who lived not far off, came to visit the post, and offered his services, observing that from the Leper Hospital (*la maison des Lèpreux*) on the other side of the river, it would be easy to surprise it. Thereupon a dozen men under Lieutenant Portmann were posted there, as much to guard this point as to observe what might occur on the Mutwal side. The environs of the latter consist of cocoanut gardens watched by natives.

A quarter of a league further up [the river] to Grandpass was [stationed] Tavel's company.

At the ferry there was a small house occupied by an invalid corporal, whose duty was to examine those crossing the river. He had with him five Sighalese fishermen to work the ferry boats, but they all took flight on the arrival of the detachment. The officers stationed themselves in the verandah of the Postholder's house, and the soldiers under the trees facing the ferry. At three in the afternoon of the same day Major Vaugine received orders to return to the Fort with one company of Grenadiers and one of Malays. He forwarded Captain Légrevisse a copy of his instructions, according to which he was to maintain himself in that position, and warned him that Captain Mittemann would replace him in the command of his company. He thereupon went to Mutwal, where he had learnt that the enemy wished to effect a landing.

On February 7 Captain Légrevisse received orders to send another detachment of Malays to the Fort to assist at a

funeral; and they sent him the same day one officer, a sergeant, a corporal, and an artilleryman, with six four-pounders mounted on naval gun-carriages. They were placed on the right and left of the troops facing the ferry. Platforms were made of cocoanut branches and sand, and a hut of cocoanut boughs to serve as a depôt for the provisions. M. Légrevisse then sent out a patrol as far as Grandpass. The sergeant in command reported that the English were on the other side of the river.

Indeed, during the night of the 7th and 8th, several men were really seen, who with torches appeared to be searching for the road leading to the mouth of the river.

At daybreak the drums announcing the march of the enemy were heard. During the morning Sepoys were seen coming from the mouth of the river: one party marched in column. The spies gave warning that the enemy were coming from Negombo with artillery.

Captain Légrevisse at the same time received instructions from the Governor not to pass the river, and to remain in the position that he occupied. In the afternoon four English officers were seen examining this post with glasses, and the following night moving up the river six shots were fired across the garden under the belief that troops were most probably encamped there.

Captain Winkelmann of the Wurtemberg regiment withdrew to Grandpass with a strong detachment. He established a post on a large rock situated near the mouth of the river.

In the event of a retreat Captain Légrevisse was to go up the river by the gardens as far as M. Tavel's country residence, from there to join Winkelmann's detachment, or to return to Colombo by the wood, if he could not hold Mutwal, whither he received in the evening orders to retire.

On February 10 he placed his company at the entrance of the wood leading to Colombo. The Sepoys were near, and the company of mounted Malays in a garden on the road leading to *Passe-Bétaal*.

The hamlet of Mutwal was abandoned. At five in the

evening the enemy crossed the river at *Passe-Bétaal*. The Sub-Lieutenant Déville, after firing on the enemy, overturned his field-pieces into the water: the gunners retired to Grandpass, and he and the rest rejoined Captain Légrevisse.

The order came afterwards to withdraw to *Courteboom*. Captain Légrevisse made his way there by a narrow path in the wood, the road being obstructed by abattis. He took up his position on the road, and M. Mittemann and his detachment at the entrance to the wood leading to Mutwal.

Captain Winkleman had orders to retire from Grandpass, where the enemy had turned his position. Lientenants Bockmann and Vogle received orders to go to *Carvate-Brouque*, and in the event of their hearing cannonade on the Mutwal side, to enter the Fort after communicating the above order to M. Mittemann.

On the 11th the soldiers were without provisions, and occupied some empty huts. Captain Légrevisse took over command from M. Mittemann, who, through M. Prosalot, had received the Governor's order to return to him.

At midday an English corvette came very near land to examine and sound the bay. The Fort allowed it to approach without firing a single shot. M. Légrevisse thereupon withdrew his troops to the cover of the wood in order to save them from the broadside which the vessel was ready to fire had opportunity offered. After beating about for some hours she put out to sea again.

Captain Mittemann in the afternoon returned with the order to retire to Malabar street (*la rue des Malabares*). His detachment stationed itself there in a garden surrounded by walls and near *Courteboom*. M. Légrevisse placed his in such a position as to guard the street down to the sea, as well as the avenues leading to Grandpass. A soldier of his company, who was reproached with having quitted his post, desired to be punished, or to be cleared by blowing out his own brains.

An English frigate having approached the Dutch vessels in harbour, MM. Honline, Pabst, and Kuyper, artillery

officers, fired on her, and were immediately put into the mainguard for having done so without the Governor's order.

A quartermaster, coming from *Passe-Bétaal* by Grandpass, assured Captain Légrevisse that the English had all crossed the river, and were in the garden of President Gœffening, and were going to push on that very evening to Mutwal.

At three on the morning of the 12th, M. Raymond, late Lieutenant-Colonel of the Luxemburg regiment, came of his own accord from Colombo with two companies of Malays to join M. Légrevisse. The latter profited by this reinforcement to make a sortie. When he reached the entrance to the wood he took a by-path, but scarcely had he advanced a few steps, when he heard *ver daw* ("who goes there")! And although he replied *ami* ("friend"), he received a volley on advancing, which killed two men of his company and several Malays: there were besides several wounded, amongst them M. Raymond himself, who had the bone of his right thigh broken. He replied smartly, and the fire ceased. He immediately sent out to reconnoitre, but without success.

Meanwhile, a part of his company and the Malays went to Mutwal along the seashore: soon afterwards he heard them engaged with the enemy, who were there in force. He immediately proceeded there with the rest of his troops; but the enemy had already taken post there, and fired grape shot from their field-pieces into the wood. Captain Mittemann having refused to support him, and not being able otherwise to turn the English position by the right of the road, as they occupied the communications to Grandpass with superior forces,—this brave officer was forced to retire on *Courteboom*, where Captain Mittemann was already. The position of the latter was bad; the sea being in his rear and the wood on his left flank. He directed M. Légrevisse to withdraw, being himself ordered to remain alone in that position.

After M. Légrevisse had effected his retreat through the wood, he perceived on his right a detachment of Malays and of the Wurtemberg regiment coming from *Carvate-Breuque*, which proceeding on the road to Colombo, took up a position on the right. At the same moment the enemy debouched on the road and vigorously attacked the troops of these two captains, who were driven back and obliged to retire to Kayman's gate (*la porte des Caymans*), having been deserted by the Sepoys. It was very fortunate for them that the enemy was contented to take up its position at *Courteboom*.

This was the only encounter of any importance that took place before the surrender of Colombo.

At Kayman's gate M. Légrevisse found three companies of the National Battalion: the Grenadiers, the company of Captains Thirback and Hoyer, as well as a detachment of artillery placed under his orders, to support him if the enemy approached. He stationed these troops at all the avenues, and the artillery and his own detachment on the seashore in an old Portuguese battery, partially demolished. Shortly afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Scheder came to take command of the troops. In spite of all, the enemy assembled in force at *Courteboom* under their very eyes.

Captain Légrevisse received orders at midday to retire with his detachment into the Fort, and the remainder of the troops received a like order successively. Kayman's gate was then closed, and a Malay guard placed there.

On the 13th all the gates of the Fort were shut, and the bridges raised. Légrevisse's company was directed to guard the ravelin of the Delft gate.

M. Sluysken, Director of Surat, who had come to Colombo for his health, wrote to Colonel Stuart, Commander of the English army, for permission to leave the Fort with his family. The permission was granted, and he withdrew to a country house on the Grandpass road. At the same time similar permission was offered to the ladies and private individuals who

might desire to avail themselves of it, and a safeguard was promised them : but no one accepted it.

The enemy then came and took up its position in Malabar street facing the old Portuguese battery, also at Wolfendahl (*Volsendanne*) at the Disávany (*Dessavonie*), and beyond the lake.

Captain Légrevisse was entrusted with the defence of the barrier of the ravelin of the Delft gate as far as the powder mill at the Rotterdam gate. Gunners under the command of an officer were stationed at the barrier, as well as at the ravelin, at the bonnet of the covered way of the powder-mill, and at the powder-mill itself.

Firebombs were thrown during the night from all the batteries and from inside the Fort to enable them to ascertain what was going on on the esplanade, in the lower town, and in the harbour. A strong detachment of Sepoys, commanded by an European sergeant, patrolled the lower town. He had orders to go as far as Kayman's gate, and went out by a flying bridge communicating between the ravelin and the covered way of the powder-mill. The English on their side communicated throughout the night with their ships at *Courteboom* : they had lighted fires for this purpose all along the coast.

On February 14, at 1 P.M., Major Agnew, an officer of the enemy's army, came with a flag of truce to Kayman's gate. They apprised the Governor of it, who sent his Aide-de-Camp, Major Prosalot, in a carriage. He returned with the English officer, preceded by an under-officer carrying a flag of truce and by a drummer. A council was held in the afternoon, and the English officer with the flag of truce returned in the evening. Thereupon the report spread that there was a suspension of hostilities for some days. Indeed the gates remained open, and whoever wished went out as far as Kayman's gate; part, too, of the Moors, of the artillery, and of those who had been formed into battalions under pretext of going to see their families took advantage of it to desert.

On February 16, at 6 o'clock in the morning, all the

troops thinking, and with reason, that they were betrayed, were ripe for revolt. Several guns went off in the Rotterdam quarter, where two Wurtemberg companies were stationed. Firing then commenced at several other points of the Fort, and notably from the barracks of the Water-gate, where the Malays and Sighalese were stationed. It was entirely directed towards the house of Governor van Angelbeck. At the same time Captain Légrevisse, who had received orders to repair with his company to the mainguard, received a counter order, to the effect that the Fortress was given over to the English. This was done at 10 o'clock in the morning.

Thus was Colombo, the principal fortress of the Island of Ceylon, surrendered to the English. All the troops were so indignant with the Governor, that if the English Colonel had not sent him a detachment as bodyguard, he would certainly have fallen a victim to the fire which destroyed his house and menaced the interior of the Fort.

Subsequently the Governor himself was so horrified at his own treason, that he blew out his brains.

The terms of the capitulation were, that the garrison should march out with honours of war, arms and baggage, with drums beating, matches lighted, and colours flying ; that it should keep its artillery, which would follow it, and that the officers should be allowed to carry their side-arms.

Accordingly the whole garrison assembled at *la place d'Amsterdam*, and leaving the Fort by the Delft gate, laid down their arms on the esplanade. All the gates of the Fort remained open, and the officers were at liberty to re-enter it. The Anglo-European soldiers were quartered in the barracks, the Sepoys in the streets, and the officers in tents and in the verandahs of houses.

The next day, the 17th, Colonel Driberg conducted all the officers of the Dutch garrison to Colonel Stuart, who was lodging at the Governor's house. He informed them that they would leave for Madras on the 20th, and that two vessels would be ready for this purpose, one for the National troops and the other for the Wurtemberg regiment.

Lieutenant-Colonel Raymond, who had died of his wounds the previous day, was buried with all military honours.

M. Hupner and another artillery officer were appointed commissaries to receive the surrendered arms.

The Kandyans, to the number of 3,000 to 4,000, appeared on the morning of the 16th at Grandpass on the right bank of the river. They sent to offer their services to the English ; but Colonel Stuart replied that he had no need of them, and forbade their crossing the river.

On the 17th the Ambassador of the King of Kandy came to offer congratulations to Colonel Stuart. The troops received them under arms, and the artillery saluted as they entered and retired ; but notwithstanding these honours, they complained that they were not paid the same respect they received from the Dutch. Colonel Stuart received them at Government House without any special ceremony, and informed them that they must put up with it, being the English custom. They retired but little satisfied, and principally because they had received no presents.

On February 21 the Dutch troops embarked and set sail on the night of the 21st or 22nd. Some days after, the Malays were sent to Tuticorin, and from there by land to Madras. The sailors were taken to Bombay.

The National troops embarked on board the *Epaminondas*, a Dutch vessel : forty-seven officers, infantry, artillery, and surgeons ; four hundred and fourteen non-commissioned officers and men—in all 461.

The Wurtemberg regiment embarked on board the *Anna*, a private vessel : thirteen officers, among whom was Major Venagel : non-commissioned officers and men.

These two ships were escorted by the frigate *Bombay* of Bombay.

The ship *Anna* sprung a leak ; the pumps were hardly able to save her. They let her drive before the wind, and she arrived on March 12, the *Epaminondas* only arriving on the 23rd.

List of the Ordnance on the Exterior and Interior Works
of the Fort of Colombo.*Outside the Fort.*

Beyond the barrier which commands the		
Lower Town	...	2 brass 4-pounders
Within and under the new Guard-house	...	2 18-pounders
The ravelin between Delft and Hoorn	...	10 iron 6-pounders
Opposite the Lake road from the Powder		
Magazine	...	3 18-pounders
Over the <i>demi-lune</i> of the Powder Magazine	...	13 8 and 6-pounders
Do. at the barrier of Galle gate	...	4 18 and 12 do.
Do. battery before the said gate	...	4 12 and 8 do.
Between Enkhuysen and Briel, Malay camp	...	4 brass 2-pounders
Before the Water-gate	...	4 do. do.
Opposite the Landing Stage	...	4 do. do.
On the Baettenbourg Bastion	...	18 brass 24-pounders
At the Water-gate	...	16 iron and brass 18 and 12-pounders

84

Within the Fort.

On the Bastions	Leyden	...	27 iron and brass 6, 18, and 24-pounders and 1 howitzer
	Delft	...	23 iron 8 and 24-pounders
	Hoorn	...	28 do. 3, 8, 12, 18, and 24-pounders and 5 mortars
	Rotterdam	...	26 iron 6, 8, and 18-pounders
	Middelbourg	...	18 do. 18 pounders, 3 mortars, and 1 howitzer
False Bay of Middelbourg		...	33 iron 3, 6, 12, and 24-pounders and 6 pieces in reserve
Klippenbourg Battery		...	10 iron 8 and 12-pounders
Enkhuysen Bastion	...	...	7 do. 6, 8, and 2 do.
Briel do.	...	...	10 iron and brass 2 and 24-pounders
Hangenhock	...	...	6 iron 3 and 6-pounders
Zeebourg Bastion	...	...	9 do. 6 and 12 do.
Amsterdam do.	...	...	10 iron and brass 8-pounders
Curtain in front of Government House	...	...	9 of iron of 1 and 2 lb.

216

Outside the Fort ... 84

Total...300

The Coëhoorn mortars, for firing grenades, were placed on Leyden, Hoorn, Delft, Middelbourg, Briel, Baettenbourg, and on the curtain before Government House.

Sixteen more pieces of various calibre were stored at the arsenal.

The magazines were very well stocked with powder, though much of it was found to be damaged.

There were in the arsenal small arms for a garrison of three times the strength.

List of the Garrison of Colombo, in the Island of Ceylon,
at the time of its surrender to the English on
February 16, 1796.

General Staff.

Van Angelbeck, governor ; Driberg, colonel in command ; Scheder, lieutenant-colonel ; Vaugine, major ; Prosalot, major and adjutant-general ; Driberg, captain major of the fortress ; Caper, lieutenant-adjutant of battalion ; Hopel, lieutenant and adjutant to the Governor ; Dèjé and Scheder, sub-lieutenants and Fort adjutants ; Wolkers, surgeon-major of battalion.

National Troops.

Grenadier Company.

Captain Frantz, two lieutenants, one sub-lieutenant, one assistant surgeon, and 90 non-commissioned officers and men.

Fusiliers.

1st Company.—Captain Légrevisse, 2 lieutenants, 2 sub-lieutenants, 1 assistant surgeon, and 93 non-commissioned officers and men.

2nd Company.—Captain Thirback, 1 lieutenant, 2 sub-lieutenants 1 assistant surgeon, and 115 non-commissioned officers and men.

3rd Company.—Captain Hoyer, 2 lieutenants, 2 sub-lieutenants, 1 assistant surgeon, and 92 non-commissioned officers and men.

4th Company.—Captain Vandestraaten, 2 lieutenants, 2 sub-lieutenants, 1 assistant surgeon, and 98 non-commissioned officers and men.

Also attached to the Grenadier Company, a drum-major, a sergeant, a bandmaster, corporal, and nine bandsmen.

Wurtemberg Regiment.

Van Hugues, colonel ; Venagel, major ; Hoffmann, lieutenant-adjutant ; Franck, surgeon-major ; Stalinger and Bleshe, ensigns of the colours ; a drum-major, corporal ; bandmaster, sergeant, and eleven bandsmen.

Companies.	Colonel : Captain-lieutenant Reitzenstein, 1 lieutenant, 2 sub-lieutenants, 97 non-commissioned officers and men.
	Major : Captain-lieutenant Halovax, 1 lieutenant, 2 sub-lieutenants, 78 non-commissioned officers and men.
	Fusiliers : Captain Winkelmann, 1 lieutenant, 2 sub-lieutenants, 78 non-commissioned officers and men.

Malays : 1st Battalion, commanded by Captain Lamotte.

An assistant surgeon.

1st Company.—Driberg, lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Kaping, major and captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 99 non-commissioned officers and men.

2nd Company.—Boegman, lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Nolloyaija, captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 84 non-commissioned officers and men.

3rd Company.—Schmith, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Singationa, captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 86 non-commissioned officers and soldiers.

4th Company.—Mollee, lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Singajouda, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 86 non-commissioned officers and men.

5th Company.—Vogel, lieutenant commanding ; 1 drill sergeant, Toedaevilynija, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 53 non-commissioned officers and men.

Malays : 2nd Battalion, commanded by Captain Dobrig.

1st Company.—Willemberg, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Singasarie, captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 87 non-commissioned officers and men.

2nd Company.—Pellegrin, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Boukiis, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 81 non-commissioned officers and men.

3rd Company.—Délille, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Lay, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 97 non-commissioned officers and men.

4th Company.—Graimont, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Singagouna, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 67 non-commissioned officers and men.

5th Company.—Stroop, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Wirakousouna, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 55 non-commissioned officers and men.

6th Company.—Heyde, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Bingalaxana, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 91 non-commissioned officers and men.

Sepoy Battalion, commanded by Captain Pannenberg.

1st Company.—Frick, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill corporal, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 61 non-commissioned officers and men.

2nd Company.—Otto, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 48 non-commissioned officers and men.

3rd Company.—Golstein, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 82 non-commissioned officers and men.

4th Company.—Olivier, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 83 non-commissioned officers and men.

5th Company.—Axen, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 76 non-commissioned officers and men.

6th Company.—Vanderverff, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 91 non-commissioned officers and men.

7th Company.—Vandelbock, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 80 non-commissioned officers and men.

Battalion of Moors, commanded by Captain Beem.

1st Company.—Brahé, lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 3 sub-lieutenants, 94 sub-officers and men.

2nd Company.—Knoyser, lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 81 sub-officers and men.

3rd Company.—Van Essen, lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 72 sub-officers and men.

Artillery.

Hupner, major commanding; Proberg, captain, assistant major; Tresseler, sub-lieutenant, adjutant; Stekler, sub-lieutenant, adjutant; Aleps, lieutenant of the arsenal; an assistant surgeon.

1st Company.—Schreuder, captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 sub-lieutenants, 44 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 30 sailors, 6 workmen, 28 Moors.

2nd Company.—Erhard, captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 sub-lieutenants, 44 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 30 sailors, 6 workmen, 34 Moors.

3rd company.—Ducrok, captain, 1 lieutenant, 5 sub-lieutenants, 41 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 29 sailors, 6 workmen, 38 Moors.

4th Company.—Lagardo, captain, 2 lieutenants, 4 sub-lieutenants, 42 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 29 sailors, 4 workmen, 32 Moors.

Engineers.

Foenander, captain commanding; Duperon, captain-lieutenant; Luzon, captain-lieutenant; Walberg, sub-lieutenant; Ulembeck, Cavalier, Hernian, and Welsing, cadets; Keller, sergeant in charge of the works.

Invalids.

Heicom, lieutenant in command, and 43 officers and soldiers.

Scouts.

Van Mittemann, captain commanding, and 500 Chalias.

Commissariat.

Van Stroure, captain, and Jonson, dnabash.

Armoury.

Nette and Deméré, captains.

Surgeons-Majors of the fortress, subordinate to the Surgeon-General:— Pool, Switz, and Heyden.

In addition three companies of Siphalese, each 100 strong, retainers of the Disáva, and an European corporal for each company.

There were besides one company composed of the clerks and two of citizens.

Memoranda relative to the Military Stations, the Organisation and the Pay of the Troops of India in the service of the Dutch East India Company.

All the invalids of the infantry or artillery were placed at the Disavoni to guard the warehouses outside the Fort, at the several minor posts in charge of the Disáva in the department of Colombo, of the captain of the coast in the district of Galle, and the Disáva of the Disavoni of Mátara. This branch of work was no concern either of the colonel commanding at Colombo or the major commanding at Galle.

Trincomalee had but one military station, where the whole administration fell to the major in command. When there were detachments, either of native or European troops, they were subject to the control of the chiefs of the district.

The Malay troops were all on the same footing, and companies of a hundred men their full strength.

They were composed of a major of their nation, captain of the first company, of an European officer in command, and a drill sergeant or corporal, one captain, one lieutenant, one native sub-lieutenant, six sergeants, six corporals, two drummers, a fifer, and 80 fusiliers.

The Malay major received fifty rix-dollars (at 48 sous) a month ; the captain twenty five rix-dollars ; the lieutenant eighteen rix-dollars and nineteen sous ; the sub-lieutenant, fifteen rix-dollars ; the sergeant, seven rix-dollars ; the corporal, five rix-dollars and seven sous ; the soldiers, four rix-dollars and seven sous.

They were allowed a flag, but had to pay for it. Commanders of companies were responsible for the repair of the arms, and received on this account fifteen rix-dollars a month, as did those of the European troops. Those of battalions had charge of the clothing, and received the opium given to the companies, and distributed it to the Malay captains, and they to their men.

Each European officer commanding a company of native troops received, besides his pay, ten rix-dollars a month.

The invalids got only two rix-dollars and thirty nine sous, with forty pounds of rice, like the rest of the troops.

Captains of battalions received eighteen florins a month, and after five years one hundred florins. The captain-lieutenants, sixty florins ; the lieutenants, fifty florins ; the sub-lieutenants, forty florins ; and sergeants, twenty florins—the florin being worth fifteen Dutch sous.

APPENDIX A.

[Correspondence extracted from the Dutch Records, Colombo.]

To the Honourable J. G. VAN ANGELBECK, Governor, &c.,
at Colombo.

SIR,—I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that I have received orders from the Directors of the Honourable East India Company to carry into execution, in concert with the Officers Commanding the Naval and Land Forces in India, such measures as may appear necessary to prevent the ill effects apprehended, on account of the late successes of the French in Holland, from extending to this country ; and for this purpose the Prince Stadtholder, who has been obliged to take refuge in Great Britain, has transmitted a letter for you, through His Majesty's Secretary of State, which will be delivered to you herewith. As it contains the orders of His Serene Highness for putting the Dutch Settlements on the Island of Ceylon under the protection of His Majesty, I am persuaded there will be no difficulty on your part in paying immediate obedience to them, in order that such Colonies or Settlements may be protected against the enemy, and held possession of upon the condition of their being restored to the Republic, at the conclusion of a General Peace, by which its independence and its Constitution, as guaranteed in 1787, shall be maintained and secured.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that the Officers Commanding the Naval and Land Forces have His Majesty's orders to cultivate the friendship and goodwill of the inhabitants, who may thus be placed under His royal protection, and to convince them of His Majesty's disposition to grant them all such indulgences and immunities as can, consistently with the general interests of the Empire, be extended to them ; and that it is His Majesty's intention that their laws and customs should not be infringed, nor fresh taxes or duties imposed, relying, however, that proper provision will be made for defraying the expense of the internal Government of the Settlement. I am also to inform you that it is His Majesty's gracious intention that the internal trade of the inhabitants shall be entirely free, and that permission will be granted to them to trade to and from the English Company's possessions, in the East Indies, with the same advantages as the subjects of the most favoured nation ; and that whilst the Settlements under your Government shall continue in His Majesty's possession, the inhabitants will be treated in the most favourable manner, and will be admitted to a full and free use of all the commercial advantages of which the situation and circumstances of the settlement will admit ; and with a view to give every proof of His Majesty's desire to render the situation of the inhabitants as satisfactory as possible, he has directed that the officers of your Government should be left in the full and free possession of their employments, until His Majesty's pleasure shall be known.

With respect to the European corps serving under your Government, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to authorise that it should be proposed to them to be taken into the pay of Great Britain, and engaged for his service, on the terms on which they are now employed.

Having made this communication, it is my duty to apprise you that if, contrary to His Majesty's expectations, resistance should be made to deliver up the several Colonies and Settlements upon the Island of Ceylon, the Officers Commanding the Naval and Land Forces have the express command of the King to take possession of them by force, in His Majesty's name, a measure which, being the result of your disregard to the orders of the Prince Stadtholder, will render you, and those who may be concerned with you, responsible for the consequences.

I have further to acquaint you that a considerable body of troops will sail from hence in the course of a few days to rendezvous at Trincomalee, and that any communication you may have to make upon the important subject of this despatch you will address to the Commanding Officers of the Naval and Land Forces assembled at that place, who have full authority to adopt such measures, in conformity to the orders above-mentioned, as the exigency of the case may require.

The friendship which has so long subsisted between Great Britain and the States General, and which has certainly so much contributed to the welfare of both, has placed me under a peculiar embarrassment, from feeling the necessity of calling upon you for a decided and final answer to this despatch within a limited period; but the critical situation of public affairs will not admit of delay. It is therefore indispensably necessary that you should at once determine whether you will accept the protection offered by the King, as the ally and friend of the States General under the Constitution guaranteed to them in 1787, or whether you will prefer a system fraught with every distress and ruin to the liberty and property of those who are so unfortunate as to exist under it.

For this purpose, Major Agnew has directions to convey your answer to the Commanding Officers of the Naval and Land Forces, as no further communication can be had with me upon this point; or in the event of your wishing to despatch any person from your own Government, Captain Gardner has Commodore Rainier's orders to give him every suitable accommodation in His Majesty's ship *L'Heroine*, and to land him at Trincomalee; but it must be explicitly understood that the smallest delay under existing circumstances will be considered as a refusal of the offered protection.

Major Agnew, who will have the honour of delivering these despatches, is an officer upon whose integrity and discretion you may place the firmest reliance, and is highly deserving of being treated with the most unreserved confidence.

I have, &c.,
HOBART.

Fort St. George,
July 7, 1795.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS an armed force, acting under the pretended authority of the persons now exercising the powers of Government in France, has entered into the territories of His Britannic Majesty's ancient allies, their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, and has forcibly taken possession of the seat of Government, whereby the Stadtholder has been obliged to leave his own country and take refuge in Great Britain—We do by this Proclamation, issued in virtue of His Majesty's command, invite and require all Commanders and Governors of Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories in the East Indies, belonging to the said States as they respect the Sacred Obligations of Honour and Allegiance and Fidelity to their lawful Sovereigns (of their adherence to which they have at all times given the most distinguished proofs), to deliver up the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories into His Majesty's possession, in order that the same may be preserved by His Majesty until a general

pacification shall have composed the differences now subsisting in Europe, and until it shall please God to re-establish the ancient Constitution and Government of the United Provinces; and, in the meantime, we hereby promise upon the assurance of His Majesty's royal word that so long as the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories shall continue to be possessed by His Majesty, to be held and treated upon the same terms, with respect to all advantages, privileges, and immunities to be enjoyed by the respective inhabitants, upon which the Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories in the East Indies are held and treated, which are now subject to His Majesty's Crown, or are otherwise possessed by the Company of Merchants trading from England to the East Indies under His Majesty's Royal Charters.

Given under our hands at Fort St. George this seventh day of July, 1795.

PETER RAINIER.

JOHN BRATHWAITE.

MON CHER FRERE,—EN consequence de la dissolution du Gouvernement avec lequel j'avois fait la capitulation pour le service de mon regiment en 1781, j'ai pris la resolution de le retirer de l'armée Hollandoire dans l'intention de transferer le corp au service de sa Majesté Britannique qui a donne sa protection au Prince Stadtholder Hereditaire, et qui a garanti la conservation de la Constitution des Etats Généraux établie 1787.

Je vous en donne avis afin de vous diriger en consequence je connois trop vos principes et votre attachement pour me permettre de donter un instant que vous ne remplissiez tous les devoirs que ce nouvel ordre de choses vous imposent.

En attendant la donnée satisfaction de vous embrasser ne doutez jamais des tendres sentiments fraternel de votre dévoué frère et chef propriétaire.

LE CHL. CHARLES DE MEURON.

Goudelour,
ce 30 Février, 1795.

To the Officers Commanding the English Naval and Land
Forces in the Bay of Trincomalee.

SIRS,—I RECEIVED through Major Agnew a letter from Lord Hobart, the contents of which you are acquainted with, and I am desired to send you my answer by Major Agnew. In consequence I have the honour to declare as well for myself as for the Members of the Council, which form the Government of this Island, that all of us and each in particular adhere faithfully to the old and lawful Government

system of the Republic of the Seven Provinces, with the States General and the Hereditary Stadtholder at the head, as guaranteed in the year 1787; and that we still acknowledge the English as our close and intimate allies.

Our principal forts are, thank God, well provided with everything that is necessary for a vigorous defence; and therefore we are not so much in want of the supply which has been offered. But nevertheless it will be agreeable to us, if the Government of Madras will now return the friendship which we showed it last year, with an equal quantity of eight hundred Europeans, of which three hundred ought to be placed in the fort of Ostenburg, three hundred near Colombo in the forts of Negombo and Kalutara, and two hundred near Galle in the fort of Mátara. But thereby we ought to inform you, that we are destitute of money, and therefore unable to pay those troops, and thus we beg that your Government will charge itself with the payment, to be indemnified hereafter by our superiors.

With this supply we trust that we will be sufficiently able to repel the enemies which may attack us, and frustrate their designs, and this our confidence is grounded on the strength of the forts, the quantity of the garrisons, the stock of all that is required for a vigorous defence, and the firm resolution with which all our officers and troops are animated to hazard their lives and property for the defence of the establishments which have been committed to our care.

The recommendation of his Serene Highness our Hereditary Stadtholder and Chief Governor-General to give every possible help in our harbours to his Britannic Majesty's ships, shall be obeyed according to our power. But respecting the proposition of Lord Hobart to put our settlements under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, I am obliged to answer that we are in duty and by oath bound to keep them for our superiors, and not to resign the least part of them. I trust that this declaration will be approved of by you, as the letter of his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange on which his Lordship grounds his proposition does not make the least mention thereof, as you will see by the copy which joins this.

This is also not required to attain the purpose, as we are, thank God, able to defend the establishments which have been committed to our care, especially if the English Government pleases to supply us with the aforesaid troops, and that his Majesty's ships please to co-operate for the defence of our coasts and harbours.

As I do not doubt but that this my just declaration will be accepted, the Major and Commandant Fornbauer is ordered by me to take in three hundred Europeans, and to station them in the fort of Ostenburg, and to deliberate with you about the measures which ought to be pursued for that garrison, and to deliver to the Commandant of the fort, cannon, stores, and other goods according to an exact inventory, for which purpose, according to Lord Hobart's proposition, the junior

merchant Fraercken is sent from hence to assist jointly with the administrator Martensz, as Deputy at the inventurisation.

SIRS,

Your obedient servant,

Colombo, July 27, 1795.

J. G. VAN ANGELBECK.

Note pour Messieurs les Capitaines Renaud et Hoffmann.

1. Ces Messieurs presenteront mon respect à M. le Commodore.
2. Ils lui diront, que je jois prêt, d'observer les devoirs d'un Commandant d'une puissance alliée.
3. Mais que j'ai des nouvelles, des préparatifs de guerre, que la Compagnie Anglaise faisoit à la côte, et notamment à Negapatnam. Que les chefs de la Compagnie Anglaise, disent publiquement, que ces préparatifs joient contre l'île de Ceilon.
4. Que cette nouvelle peut-être facilement détruit par M. le Commodore, en donnant sa parole d'honneur par écrit que actuellement, M. le Commodore, n'ait pas d'ordre, qui l'autorisent de non faire la guerre et que'en cas que M. le Commodore' ne juge pas apropos de me tranquiliser sur ce point, je le prie de me permettre que je refuse l'entrée dans la Bumenbaay à chaque batiment de guerre Anglaise, jusque ce que j'aurois des ordres definitifs du Gouvernement Général de l'Isle et que jusque là, je ne pourrais entrer en aucune negociation, sur le sujet contenue dans la lettre, qui m'a été remise par M. le Major Agneween.

J. G. FORNBAUER.

A. K. KORDEERT.

Trinkonomale, ce 1 Août, 1795.

J. M. JARTHOLOMEUSZ.

Commodore Rainier presents his compliments to Major Fornbauer, and will transmit his answer to the Note delivered by Captains Renaud and Hoffmann, as soon as the papers he judges necessary for his information can be copied. Major Agnew and Captain Borough will have the honour to deliver Commodore Rainier's answer to Major Fornbauer, and will be authorised to give such further explanation as may appear necessary.

On Board H.M.S. Suffolk.

August 2, 1795.

In reply to the note of Major Fornbauer communicated by Captains Renaud and Hoffmann, Commodore Rainier and Colonel Stuart have to observe, that the object for which the troops under their command have been ordered to Trincomalee was particularly explained to the Government-General of Ceylon, in a letter from the Government of

Madras and other communications, transmitted to Colombo, by Major Agnew, who has brought to them the reply of Mr. van Angelbeck, and delivered to Major Fornbaner the orders issued by him in consequence of these communications. The Officers Commanding His Majesty's Sea and Land Forces conceived that no further explanation of their object was necessary; but as Major Fornbauer requires it, they assure him that they are come as the ancient friends and firm allies of the Republic of the United Provinces, to protect with the troops of His Britannic Majesty the possessions of his allies, and to prevent their falling into the hands of their common enemy, under the express condition that as soon as the Constitution of the Republic of the United Provinces is re-established as guaranteed in the year 1787, the places occupied by His Majesty's troops shall be restored.

It is necessary that the Major Fornbauer should be fully acquainted with the instructions under which Commodore Rainier and Colonel Stuart act; which are, in the event of refusal to admit the troops for the purposes of protection as above stated, to use the force under their command to compel obedience; and should Major Fornbauer render it necessary for them to resort to force, he will be himself responsible for the consequences which may ensue from a line of conduct so opposite to the orders of His Serene Highness the Prince Stadtholder, and those of the Government of Colombo, that it can only be attributed to his determination to take part with the common enemy of His Britannic Majesty and the Dutch Republic.

Given under our hands on Board His Majesty's Ship Suffolk, in Back Bay, Trincomalee, this second day of August, 1795.

PETER RAINIER.

J. STUART.

Instruction pour Messieurs Renand et Bellon.

1. CES Messieurs presenteront mon respect à M. le Commodore Rainier et M. le Colonel Stuart, et les remercierons de ce que il sont bien voulu par leur declaration, annuller les avis, que le soussigné avoit reçû, comme si la Compagnie Anglaise, avoit dessein d'envahir l'Isle de Ceilon. Qu'en consequence les vaisseaux de sa Majesté et autres battiments Anglais, pourront entrer dans la baye et qu'en Général les troupes de deux nations vivront en bonne amitié.

2. Le soussigné a ordre de recevoir dans le fort Oostenburg trois cent têtes militaires, de sa Majesté Britannique. Mais que malheureusement dans la lettre, qui porte cette ordre, il'y a omission de forme, en ce que la lettre n'est signé que de Monsieur le Gouverneur de l'Isle dont s'en : que selon la Constitution de la Compagnie toutes les lettres, portant même des petits objets d'administration, doivent être signées, constamment du moins par la pluralité des members.

3. Que cette omission de forme constitutionnelle, rend la lettre de pas plus de poids, qu'une lettre particulière. Et que Monsieur le Gouverneur, qui est d'un âge très avancé, mourant, la Regence pourroit accuser de haute trahison, le soussigné et lui trancher la tête sur un échaffaud, sans que le soussigné auroit une seule pièce, pour le justifier de l'admission, des trois cent hommes, des troupes, de sa Majesté Britannique.

4. Le soussigné supplie par cette raison, Monsieur le Commodore Rainier et Monsieur le Colonel Stuart d'avoir égard à cette difficulté et d'accorder un délai au soussigné, pour l'admission des trois cent têtes dans Oostenbourg. Jusque ce que Monsieur le Gouverneur van Angelbeck aura levé, par une lettre, ou ordre signée de lui et de la pluralité des Membres du Conseil, cette difficulté, en quel cas le soussigné admettra aussitôt les trois cent hommes, l'intervalle pouvant être employé, de prendre les arrangements nécessaire pour tout ce qui a égard, à cet objet.

5. Pour engager M. le Commodore Rainier et M. le Colonel Stuart, d'accorder ce délai, le soussigné déclare, qu'il a ordre du Gouverneur et Conseil de l'Isle de Ceilon, en cas d'attaque par le Gouvernement actuelle de France, d'en donner avis au Gouvernement de Madras et d'autres chefs de sa Majesté Britannique, et de demander le secours qui sera jugé nécessaire, pour empêcher l'ennemi de faire la conquête des forts, sous son commandement. Et le soussigné engage par la présente sa parole d'honneur, qu'il observera fidèlement l'ordre ci-dessus.

J. G. FORNBAUER.

Trinkonomale, ce 2 Août, 1795.

COMMODORE Rainier and Colonel Stuart have received the Note which the Captains Renaud and Bellon were charged to deliver to them from a Major Fornbauer. They have by every means in their power endeavoured to avoid any occasion of disagreement between His Majesty's officers and those of the Republic of the United Provinces, on an object of service equally important to the interests of both; for this reason Major Agnew was despatched to Colombo to learn the sentiments of the Government of Ceylon, and the British squadron avoided entering the Bay of Trincomalee, till his return gave the Officers Commanding the assurance of the continuance of the friendship which has hitherto subsisted between these States.

Having acted with such delicacy towards the officers of the Government of Ceylon, they did not expect that any omission of form would have operated to prevent the immediate conclusion of an arrangement proposed by Governor van Angelbeck, in answer to the demands made by the British Government. That arrangement was by no means equal to the demands conveyed in the British Proclamation; but Commodore Rainier and Colonel Stuart, from a wish to avoid hostility if possible, took upon themselves to accept it.

Major Fornbauer's last notification obliges the Commanders of the British Forces at Trincomalee to revert to their original instructions. Major Fornbauer has received copy of their Proclamation, and he is hereby required in conformity to the demands it contains to deliver the forts under his command into the possession of the British troops, to be protected by them against the attacks of the French; or his refusal will be considered as a declaration of hostility.

Given under our hands on Board His Majesty's Ship Suffolk, in Back Bay, Trincomalee, this second day of August, 1795.

PETER RAINIER.
J. STUART.

Instruction pour Messieurs les Capitaines Renaud and Bellon.

1. En présentant à Monsieur le Commodore et à M le Colonel Stuart mon respect, Messieurs les Capitaines Renaud et Bellon, protesteront formellement contre le contenu de la note fulminante, remis au soussigné. Ils chargeront Messieurs le Commodore Rainier et le Colonel Stuart de toute la conséquence, qui peut s'ensuivre et assureront ces Messieurs que la garnison et son Commandant tachera de mériter l'estime de la nation Anglaise, pour se consoler du mépris dont la dernière note vient flétrir son Commandant.

Trinkonomale, ce 2 Août, 1795.

J. G. FORNBAUER.

To the Officers Commanding the British Naval and Military Forces at Trincomalee.

SIRS,—HAVING received the news that you have thought fit to invade the Company's territory with armed troops, and to summon the forts of Trincomalee and Ostenburg, we have annulled our resolution to accept of eight hundred men as auxiliaries and to place three hundred of them in Ostenburg, and have therefore resolved to defend with the forces we have the forts and establishments which have been confided to us against every one that wishes to make themselves masters thereof. We inform you thereof, and have the honour to be, &c.

J. G. VAN ANGELBECK.
C. VAN ANGELBECK.
D. C. VON DRIEBERG.
J. REINTOUS.
B. L. VAN ZITTER.
A. SAMLANT.
J. A. VOLLENHOVE.
D. D. VAN RANZOW.
A. J. ISSENDORP.
T. G. HOFLAND.

Colombo, August 13, 1795.

Capitulation of Trincomalee.

Le Commandant du Fort d'Oostenburg rend le dit fort à sa Majesté Britannique sous les conditions suivantes :—

ARTICLE 1.

La garrison du Fort d'Oostenburg se rend prisonniers de guerre ; les officiers garderont leurs épées.

Granted.

ARTICLE 2.

Le Capitaine Weerman et le Lieutenant Lellman Ingenieur, demandent la permission de rester ici pour arranger leurs affaires at celles des officiers.

These officers will be permitted to remain a reasonable time for the arrangement of their affairs.

ARTICLE 3.

Les propriétés des officiers et soldats sera assure.

Granted.

ARTICLE 4.

Les soldats seront prisonniers de guerre, et delivrés pour être transporté ; ils ne seront pas forcés pour prendre service, et ceux qui ne voudront pas s'engager, seront transporté en Europe au tems convenable.

Granted.

ARTICLE 5.

Les Malays seront bien traites, et ne seront pas forcés de prendre service ni comme militaires, ni comme matelots.

Granted.

ARTICLE 6.

Le magasinier, son assistant et le secretaire demandent la permission de rester ici pour arranger leurs affaires.

These gentlemen will be allowed a reasonable time for the arrangement of their affairs, but are to be considered as prisoners of war.

ARTICLE 7.

Tous les articles de la capitulation de Trinkonomale, quoique pas contenus dans celle ci, seront etendues aussi sur la garrison d'Oostenburg autant convenable.

Granted.

ARTICLE 8.

A quatre heures cet après midi, la garrison marcheré dehors tambours battant et mettra bas les armes.

The garrison will march out at 4 o'clock this afternoon in the manner required by this Article. But a detachment of the British army must be put in possession of the Water Pass Gate at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and proper persons will be appointed by Captain Hoffmann to point out the Magazine, &c., that guards may be posted for their security.

ARTICLE 9.

Tous les munitions, les magazins, papiers, et propriétés publiques seront delivrés au Commissaire nommé de la part de sa Majesté Britannique.

Fort d'Oostenburg,
ce 31 Août, 1795.

PETER RAINIER.
J. STUART.

To the Honourable J. G. van Angelbeck, Governor, &c., and to the Gentlemen of Council at Colombo.

HONOURABLE SIR, AND SIRS.—OUR President had the honour of addressing a letter to Mr. van Angelbeck on July 7, in which his Lordship communicated the intentions of the King of Great Britain with respect to the Dutch Settlements in India, and invited your Government to the acceptance of propositions which were calculated to secure those settlements during the war from falling into the hands of the enemy, by taking them under the protection of Great Britain, with the condition of their being restored to the Republic of Holland, at the conclusion of a General Peace, by which its independence and its constitution, as guaranteed in the year 1787, shall be maintained and secured. We had the less doubt upon our minds with respect to the satisfaction it would have afforded you to embrace the plan that had been concerted between His Majesty and the Prince of Orange, because we knew that you were bound by the most sacred obligation to uphold that constitution, and because the principles on which the plan was formed had nothing in view that could be construed into an act of derogation on your part.

We feel the most sincere concern that the harmony and good understanding which had so long subsisted between the two Governments should have suffered an interruption by your not having conceived

yourselves called upon by the Stadtholder's letter to acquiesce altogether in the propositions our President had made to you ; and that even the limited manner in which your Government had thought proper to comply was frustrated by the Officer Commanding in Trincomalee from a deficiency in point of form, with regard to the signature of the order, not deeming himself warranted to obey it.

In conformity to the orders from Europe, in the event of your declining the protection of Great Britain, the reduction of the Forts of Ostenburg and Trincomalee, with the adjoining districts, and that of other settlements belonging to the Dutch on the Island of Ceylon, which we have reason to expect either are by this time actually in our possession, or on the eve of being subdued by the British troops, has been the immediate consequence of the commencement of hostilities.

Being led by many circumstances to believe that we have a common interest with you in the result of the present war, we seriously lament the alternative to which we have been driven, and under this impression are anxious to make every effort in our power to bring our differences to an amicable and speedy termination, that we may at least enjoy the satisfactory reflection of having followed the impulse of humanity, and the dictates of those sentiments of regard we feel towards your nation, by strenuously endeavouring to avert those evils which must inevitably attend a continuation of hostility.

We are the more induced to make an attempt towards the restoration of tranquility at this time from the conviction that your means of resistance are extremely inadequate, and we are persuaded that you cannot but concur with us in that opinion, when you are informed that by a capitulation signed at Neufchatel on March 30 last, on the part of the British Government and the Count de Meuron, proprietor of the regiment of that name, it has been stipulated that the whole corps should be immediately withdrawn from your service, with a view to its afterwards being transferred to that of Great Britain, and that for the purpose of executing the terms of the said capitulation the Count de Meuron had arrived at Tellicherry on the 6th instant. We have received accounts from His Majesty's Secretary of State, communicating the terms of this agreement, and have letters from Mr. Cleghorn, the gentleman who negotiated them, and who accompanied the Count de Meuron from Europe to this country.

Your letter of the 15th ultimo would warrant our availing ourselves of the advantages we must derive from so considerable a diminution of your force, and might be an inducement to us to complete the reduction of all the Dutch Settlements on the Island of Ceylon by conquest, a measure to which we might reasonably look without imposing upon ourselves a very arduous undertaking. We are, however, too well disposed to peace with the representatives of the Stadtholder's Government to forego any opening which may lead to so desirable an object, and therefore renew our former proposition, as far as it regards those Settlements which remain in the possession of your Government.

It may at the same time be expedient that you should explicitly understand that our proposition goes to putting the Dutch Settlements in question completely under His Britannic Majesty's protection and control, the troops to be stationed for that purpose to be either British or selected from amongst these now in your service, according to the disposition we may think it most advisable to make, under the impression of existing circumstances.

Our President's letter of the 7th July contains the stipulations we feel ourselves at liberty to enter into concerning the settlements remaining under your Government, as well as our determination with respect to the line of conduct that will be pursued, in the event of your persevering in your resolution of the 15th August.

Any further explanation you may require will be given by Major Agnew, who possesses our full confidence, and who is authorised by us to settle the mode of carrying the proposed arrangement into execution.

We have, &c.,

Fort St. George,
September 22, 1795.

HOBART.
C. SAUNDERS.
E. H. FALLOFIELD.

Headquarter of the British Army near
Jaffnapatnam, September 28, 1795.

To the Governor or Commandant of the Fort of Jaffnapatnam,
and its Dependencies.

SIR,—THE important Forts of Trincomalee, Ostenburg, and Batticaloa having surrendered to the Army of his Britannic Majesty, the undersigned, Commanding-in-Chief the troops of His Majesty on the Island of Ceylon, demands of you to surrender the Fort of Jaffnapatnam and its dependencies under your command to the King, my Master. The officers and troops of the garrison, if it is their wish, will be immediately received into the pay of Great Britain with the rank they now hold. Their private property as well as that of all the inhabitants will be secured to them, and every reasonable indulgence which you can require on their behalf will be granted. It must be evident to you that your resistance cannot long preserve the Fort under your command, when you are apprised of the possessions which the English have already acquired on this Island for their preservation against our common enemy and of the British power in India. If therefore your refusal to surrender on the very favourable condition I have now the honour to offer, obliges me to erect batteries against the place (the guns for that purpose and the remainder of the army being on their march from Point Pedro to join), no terms will hereafter be granted, and if you are permitted to surrender it must be at discretion.

Captain Borough, Lieutenant Hayter, and John Macdowall, Esquire, will have the honour to deliver this letter to you, and are empowered by me to arrange the terms of surrender.

I have the honour to be, with every consideration of respect and esteem, &c.

J. STUART,

Commanding-in-Chief the Troops of His Britannic Majesty on this Island of Ceylon.

To the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, Governor, and Council at Fort St. George.

MY LORD AND SIRS,—WE have had the honour to receive from Major Agnew your letter of September 22 last, and reply to it as follows :—

Our answer to Lord Hobart's letter of July 7, which agreeably to his Lordship's desire was despatched to the Commanding Officers of the British Naval and Land Forces before Trincomalee, contained all that his Serene Highness the Hereditary Stadtholder demanded from us, and the strongest reasons why we could not agree to the remaining demands of his Lordship which went much further.

Our Governor alone signed that letter because Major Agnew insisted so much on having his despatch immediately on account of the danger to which the frigate was exposed in the bad monsoon, and as part of the Members of Council lived without the fort, hours would have been spent in getting it signed by them. Our Governor signed it without hesitation, as the draft had been approved by every one of us, and as the Governors of Ceylon have always in matters of the greatest importance given orders to the subordinate officers by letters signed alone by them.

Major Fornbauer should then without hesitation have complied with its contents, and we have therefore left the consequences of his refusal to his account.

We nevertheless expected with much reason that the Commanding Officers would have contented themselves with the aforesaid Major's offer, to ask additional orders, and then to comply, in which case this unfortunate misunderstanding could have been adjusted within a few days.

But as they commenced public hostilities by invading our territory and summoning both our Forts, we were obliged by our letter of August 15 to repeal our peaceable offer.

We will suppose for an instant that the misdemeanour of Major Fornbauer had given the Commanding Officers a right to commence hostilities. But with what reason can the conquest of Batticaloa, Jaffnapatnam, and Tuticorin be justified? The chiefs of those places

having made liberal offers for the admittance of your troops, what right or argument can you allege, My Lord and Sirs, except your superior force, to summon us to deliver our establishments in the manner you have done by your letter of September 22 last?

Respecting the capitulation which the Count de Meuron has entered into with your Government for the Swiss Regiment, we declare he had no power to do it, because he had consigned his regiment permanently to us, as long as the Company might want it, as appears by the 25th Article of the Capitulation, of which a copy is annexed. He says in his letter to his brother the Colonel Commandant, that the Government with whom he capitulated is dissolved, and that therefore he had resolved to withdraw his regiment from the Dutch Army. But the Government is not yet dissolved, as will appear at the conclusion of a General Peace in the Netherlands. In the meantime we are here the representatives of the same, and as such you acknowledge us by your letter of September 22nd .t.

But although we are deprived of that part of the regiment which is here, and which consists of five hundred men; we are, however, not destitute of resources to defend what has been confided to us, and if we are at last crushed by a superior force, we will find sufficient consolation in the reflection that we have done all that could be expected from loyal officers, who prefer their honour and their duty to every other consideration.

We have the honour to be, &c.,

J. G. VAN ANGELBECK.

C. VAN ANGELBECK.

D. C. VON DRIEBERG.

J. REINTOUS.

B. L. VAN ZITTER.

A. SAMLANT.

J. A. VOLLENHOVE.

D. D. VAN RANZOW.

A. ISSENDORP.

T. G. HOFLAND.

Colombo, October 13, 1875.

To the Officer Commanding the British Troops at Tuticorin.

SIR,—HAVING made an arrangement with Major Agnew that five companies of the Swiss Regiment in garrison here should be conveyed from hence to Tuticorin with the sloops *La Fidèle*, the *Jonge Villem Arnold*, and the *Grutaaf*, under flags of truce, for which purpose Major Agnew granted three passports, one of which goes now with *La Fidèle*.

M. Pierre Monneron arrived since here with his vessel, the *Alamgum*, with a passport and flag of Tipu Sultan, and Colonel de Meuron not knowing any means to convey to Madras the remaining two compa-

nies of his Regiment which are garrisoned at Point de Galle, he made with my knowledge and consent an arrangement with M. Monneron to convey part of the five companies to Tuticorin, in which case the remainder can be transported with *La Fidèle*, and the other two sloops go to Point de Galle to carry over the two companies.

Agreeably to this arrangement *La Fidèle* goes now with two hundred and fifty men, and the other two sloops have already been despatched to Point de Galle with their passports in order to embark there the two companies. I have to request, therefore, that you will please provide them, with all possible speed, with the necessary water and firewood, and send them back to Colombo with a passport.

I have, &c.,

J. G. VAN ANGELDECK.

Colombo, November 12, 1795.

APPENDIX B.

[Percival's "Account of the Island of Ceylon,"
pages 112–118.]

THE English landed at Nigombo in February, 1796, when they made themselves masters of it without opposition.

After the taking of Nigombo, General Stewart, with the 52nd, 73rd, and 77th regiments, three battalions of Sepoys, and a detachment of Bengal artillery, marched to attack Columbo. The road through which he had to pass presented apparently the most formidable obstacles. Those rivers which add so much to the beauty and richness of the country, and those woods which afford so much comfort to the traveller, presented so many bars to the march of an army, and opportunities to annoy it. For twenty miles the road may be considered as one continued defile, capable of being easily defended against a much superior force. It was intersected by two broad, deep, and rapid rivers, and several smaller ones, besides ravines whose bridges had been broken down. Each side of the path through which our army marched was covered with thick woods and jungle, from whence the enemy had an opportunity of destroying their adversaries, without even being seen themselves. In such a situation General Stewart every moment expected an attack, and was exceedingly surprised, as were all the officers, at being suffered to pass through such a strong and difficult country without the smallest opposition. Nothing can give a more striking idea of the degraded state to which the Dutch military establishments at Ceylon were reduced, than their suffering an enemy to advance unmolested in such circumstances.

Neither want of skill or prudence on the part of the officers, nor want of discipline on that of the soldiers, could have produced such disgraceful effects. It is only to the total extinction of public spirit, of every sentiment of national honour, that such conduct can be attributed. A thirst of gain and of private emolument appears to have swallowed up every other feeling in the breasts of the Dutchmen ; and this is a striking warning to all commercial nations to be careful that those sentiments, which engage them to extend their dominions, do not obliterate those by which alone they can be retained and defended.

If their unmolested march seemed unaccountable, the circumstances which followed still more surprised our British soldiers. The first obstacle which opposed itself to General Stewart was the Mutwal river at the distance of about four miles from Columbo, and here the enemy, who made their appearance for the first time, seemed determined to dispute the passage. Nature had done everything in her power to render their resistance effectual. The river was here half a mile broad and ran in such a direction as nearly to cut off and insulate for three or four miles, that tract of country which immediately presented itself to our army. A little neck of land on the south side afforded the only entrance to this tract, which from its strength was called the Grand-pass. A battery erected by the Dutch on the Columbo side commanded the passages, and General Stewart was of course obliged to halt. The army lay here for two days preparing themselves for a difficult enterprise, when they were astonished to learn that the Dutch had thrown the guns of the battery into the river, evacuated the post, and retreated precipitately into the garrison of Columbo. The British at first doubted the truth of the intelligence, and then supposed it was a stratagem of the enemy to draw them across, and afterwards attack them with advantage. As no opposition, however, now presented itself on the other side of the river, it was resolved to carry over the army, which was speedily effected on rafts of bamboo, and a few boats from our ships lying at anchor off the mouth of the river. Our troops then encamped in a large grove of cocoanut trees, with a Malay village in front. The position was very advantageous, as the river from its winding course protected our right flank and rear, while the left was skirted by a very thick wood or jungle, which extended nearly to the Black Town of Columbo. Our ships, which lay at no great distance, were ready to furnish the army with everything necessary. It was of this last circumstance that the Dutch took advantage to excuse their pusillanimous conduct in abandoning such an excellent position. They said they were afraid of troops being landed from the ships between them and the fort of Columbo, and thus cutting off their retreat. But those who are acquainted with the situation of the country will look upon this as a very poor palliation of their cowardice ; as even supposing we had attempted to land troops between them and the

fort, a secure retreat was opened to them by the thick wood on the left, through which from our not knowing the ground, it would have been dangerous and improper for us to pursue them.

Whilst our troops lay here, the Dutch sent out from Columbo a large party of Malays under the command of Colonel Raymond, a Frenchman, to attack us, which they did rather unexpectedly in the morning about daybreak. Our troops, however, particularly our flank companies under Colonel Barhut, gave them such a warm reception that they soon retired very precipitately and with great loss; their brave commander was mortally wounded, and died a few days after. The loss on our part was not material: and this was the last and only attempt made by the enemy to oppose us.

Our army was now come to Columbo, the capital of the Dutch dominions in Ceylon, large, fortified, and capable of a vigorous defence; and here they seemed to have concentrated their resistance. On our appearing before it, however, a capitulation was immediately proposed, and in a few days after this important place was surrendered into our hands. To examine the causes which led to this unexpected conduct may be of use to our own nation, and the Commanders of our garrison abroad.

Previous to the British troops appearing before Columbo, its garrison had been in some measure weakened by the loss of the Swiss Regiment de Meuron, which for a long time had composed part of it. This regiment, upon the term of its agreement with the Dutch having expired a few months before General Stewart was sent against Ceylon, had transferred its services to our Government; and other troops had not hitherto been procured from Holland or Batavia to replace it at Columbo. The strength of the garrison was by this means impaired; but the want of numbers was not its principal defect, as upon marching out after the surrender, it was found to consist of two battalions of Dutch troops, the French regiment of Wurtemberg, besides native troops; forming in all a number fully equal to the force sent against it.

The dissensions among both the civil and military officers of the garrison were a cause which more powerfully hastened its surrender. Those principles, which have produced so many convulsions and atrocities in Europe, had also penetrated into this Colony. The Governor, M. van Angelbeck, was a very respectable old officer of moderate principles and a mild disposition. Many of these under him were, however, violent Republicans of the Jacobin party; they declaimed against the Governor as a man of a weak mind, and wished to place in the government his son, whom they had gained over to their own principles. The violence of this party had gone to an alarming height; they had already begun to denounce their opponents; and several respectable gentlemen would in all probability have fallen victims to their fury, had not the sudden arrival of the English at this critical moment rescued them from impending destruction.

The state of discipline in the garrison had also fallen into the most shameful disorder. Drunkenness and mutiny were carried to the greatest height. The old Governor has frequently declared at the tables of our officers, that he was in constant danger of his life from their mutinous conduct. He had resolved to defend the place to the last ; but such was the state of insubordination which prevailed, that he could not by any means induce the Dutch troops, and in particular the officers, to march out against the enemy. Personal safety, an object scarcely ever attended to by our troops either by sea or land, seemed in them to overpower every sense of duty or honour. A few of them went to accompany the Malay troops on the expedition I have already mentioned ; but scarcely had they reached the gates of the Black Town when their courage evaporated, and they left the Malays to their fate. Not above one or two European officers met us in that action besides the brave Colonel Raymond, who was ashamed of being connected with such poltroons, and would have brought their conduct to public censure had not his death fallen a noble sacrifice to his sense of honour.

This state of total insubordination, the violence of the Jacobin party, and the fear of an internal massacre, induced the Governor to enter into a private treaty for surrender with the English as soon as they appeared before the place. He let his troops, however, know that such a measure was in agitation ; but this produced no effect on their disorders, and he at length signed the capitulation without their knowledge, and I believe without their consent. Our troops were suddenly introduced into the fort, and had nearly entered before the Dutch were aware of it. They were found by us in a state of the most infamous disorder and drunkenness ; no discipline, no obedience, no spirit. They now began to vent the most bitter reproaches against the Governor, accusing him as the author of that disgrace which their own conduct had brought upon them ; and seemed in a tumultuous crowd determined to display a desperate courage when it was now too late. The Malay troops alone kept up any appearance of discipline. Even they, however, were led away by the contagious example of the rest ; and several of them, in concert with the Jacobin party among the Dutch, attacked the Governor's house, and fired it with an intention to kill him, crying aloud that he had betrayed them and sold them to the English. Nor was it without much difficulty that these mutineers were compelled to evacuate the fort, and ground their arms.

It was grateful to the heart of a Briton to behold the steady conduct and excellent discipline of our troops on this occasion when contrasted with the riotous and shameful conduct of the Dutch soldiers. An officer who was an eye witness assured me that the Dutch soldiers went so far as even to strike at our men with their muskets, calling them insulting and opprobrious names, and even spitting upon them as they passed. This behaviour entirely corresponded with their

former cowardice, and was equally despised by our countrymen. I have often since conversed on the subject with the Malay officers, who seemed to have embraced entirely the same sentiments with regard to it. They were all highly disgusted with the pusillanimous conduct of the Dutch, particularly in the affair at the Grandpass, where they left them without any assistance to fight by themselves. Their contempt for their former masters, and their admiration of the valour of our troops, has served to render the Malays our most sincere friends, and they are now formed into a steady and well-disciplined regiment in the British service.

These facts with regard to the easy capture of Ceylon tend to throw the severest reflections on the Dutch garrison there; but by no means serve to show that the enterprise on our part was not attained with the greatest danger. The opposition of even a very small body of men must have occasioned much difficulty and loss to us, however great General Stewart's military talents, and however brave the troops he commanded. Nature, indeed, seems to have done everything in her power to secure the approaches to Columbo on this side.

APPENDIX C.

[Welsh's "Military Reminiscences," Vol. I., pages 26–40.]

TRINCOMALLEE.

The harbour of Trincomallee, situated near the north-eastern extremity of the island of Ceylon, is one of the best in India; it was defended by numerous works, and might have given us much trouble to take it, but fortunately the garrison were mostly quiet merchants and mechanics, who, by a protracted defence, would have hazarded their all for the bubble reputation, and therefore very speedily surrendered. The troops destined for the conquest of the Dutch possessions on the western shore of the island, then assembled at Ramisera, in January, 1796, consisting of three European and five native corps, under the command of Colonel Stewart,* of his Majesty's 72nd regiment.

* Colonel Stewart was a very old and experienced officer, well known, and at that time much liked by the Madras army; he went by the familiar appellation of "Old Row." Relieved from the government of Ceylon, he afterwards became Commander-in-Chief at Madras, and returned to Europe in 1808.

RAMISERAM.

This island, about ten or twelve miles long, and half that breadth, and which is situated at the head of the gulph of Manaar, is separated from the mainland of the peninsula by a narrow ferry, and from Ceylon by Adam's bridge and the island of Manaar. Its Pagodas, celebrated all over India for their sanctity, are at the eastern end of the island; they are lofty, and in good repair, though of great antiquity. The Brahmins have a neat little village in the neighbourhood, and there is a fine square stone tank, with a small island in the centre, luring the unwary to destruction, for its approach appears clear of all impediments. I had swam across to look at its images, and returning, carelessly allowed my legs to sink beneath me, when they were immediately entangled in weeds, which pulled me under water two or three times; until, at length, I tore them up from the bottom in the struggle, and reached the bank with great difficulty, dragging behind me several thin cords of many feet in length. Although it is not very likely that any of my readers may have occasion to try the same experiment, yet I could not resist the temptation of holding out a warning to those who might be led into a similar danger through similar inadvertency.

Here, on very good ground, the troops were encampad as they arrived; and about January 10, we took our final departure, in large open boats; crossing under the bridge, as it is called, we coasted along, by Arepoo, Calpenteen, &c., running on shore every evening, to cook and eat our diurnal meal, and sleep on the beach; but without any shelter from the weather, which being particularly inclement, we generally had our clothes wet through all night, and dried during the day upon our bodies: experiencing both extremes in the course of the twenty-four hours. Our first rendezvous was Negumbo, about thirty miles north of Colombo, then in the enemy's possession. Our flotilla being drawn up in order, a landing was effected, and we found the works abandoned without resistance. Here, then, we landed our stores, camp equipage, &c., as also the fascines and gabions we had made, under the erroneous impression that we were not likely to find materials in Ceylon, the best wooded country in the world; and I may as well anticipate the catastrophe, by remarking, that they were afterwards all served out to the Bombay Grenadier battalion, at Columbo, for firewood!—the useless cost and labour being carried to the account of experience and geographical knowledge. Leaving our boats to carry on the heavy articles, for which cattle could not be procured, the army marched by land, and arrived within four miles of Columbo, without meeting the slightest resistance, as it was not until after we had crossed a broad and rapid river that the enemy attempted to impede our approach.

COLUMBO.

Advancing at daylight, we crossed the great ferry, called Grand Pass, and forming on the other side, moved on, uncertain what recep-

tion we were likely to experience, when all of a sudden a peal of musquetry, and shower of balls, arrested our attention. A body of eight hundred or one thousand Malays, followed by Dutch troops, gave us this salutation, which being returned with interest, they immediately took to flight, leaving, amongst others, a Colonel mortally wounded on the ground. His remains were interred with military honours, and we took up our almost peaceable abode in the Pettah and environs, about two o'clock the next day : having, however, had a most ridiculous alarm during the night, which terminated fatally for one of our comrades. Being with the advance, I was posted in a thick grove, with one of the picquets for the night ; the next party to us was furnished by the Bombay Grenadier battalion, in similar ground. All the sentries were loaded, and told to challenge distinctly any one who approached them ; and, if not satisfactorily answered, to fire at the object. The night was dark, and all had remained still, till towards morning, when suddenly, "Who comes there?" was bellowed out from the Bombay post, and immediately after the report of two musquets, followed by others, resounded through the grove. "Fall in ! fall in ! prime and load !" followed on our part, to which a dead silence ensued ; and then one of those uncertain pauses, the most trying to the nerves and patience of a soldier. Matters remaining in this state for some time, we ventured to enquire what had occurred to our comrades on the right, and found that a buffalo had suddenly advanced on two drowsy Ducks,^o and, not giving the countersign, was immediately fired at ; the remainder of the picquet turning out, loaded their pieces, and also commenced firing, when a shot from a better marksman than the rest killed one of our own sentries, and was even fired so close to him as actually to blow away a part of the poor fellow's mouth. The fact was, that drowsiness had obtained such complete possession of the guard, that on their being thus suddenly awakened they were quite unable to recognise each other in the dark.

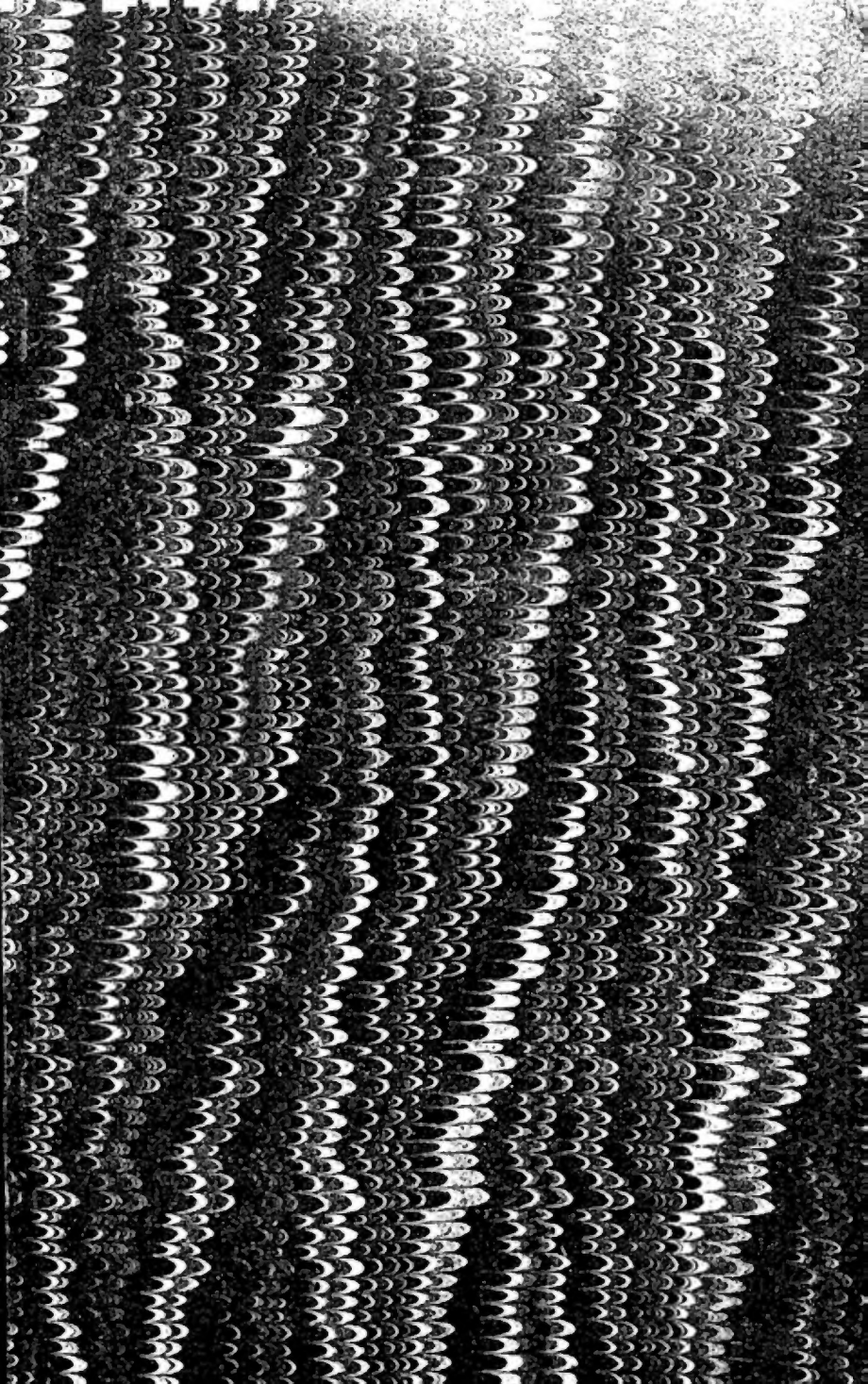
Negotiations, having commenced between Colonel Stewart and the Dutch Governor-General, van Angleback, we remained inactive for a few days ; when, on February 16, the whole of their possessions on the Island were ceded to us by capitulation, in trust for the Prince of Orange, and the fort was instantly taken possession of by our troops in his name, our corps, the 9th battalion of Native infantry, being detached to Point de Galle, sixty miles south, to receive charge of and garrison that fortress.

* The Bombay army are generally designated "*Ducks*," perhaps from their Presidency being situated on a small island. The Bengalees are denominated "*Qui hies*," from a habit of exclaiming "*koy hye*?" "who is there?" to their domestics, when requiring their attendance ; and the Madrasees are designated by the appellation of "*Mulls*," from the circumstance of always using a kind of hot soup, yeleped mulligatawny, literally pepper water, at their meals, particularly supper.

Columbo, the capital of the Dutch in Ceylon, is a place of considerable consequence and strength, from its natural position as well as from its works, which were numerous and in good condition. The fort, which is extensive, contained many capital dwelling houses, including the Governor's palace, which is a most superb building. The Pettah had also several good houses, churches, &c., in it; and in the place, altogether, were many respectable inhabitants. Without a chance of relief, it would have been madness to have held out: and by an early capitulation, private property was not only preserved, but all the different public servants obtained pensions from our Government. Columbo is also a place of great traffic by sea, the roadstead being extremely safe and commodious, particularly during the north-eastern monsoons.







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